

Evolution of the Idea
of
Nationalistic Patriotism
and its
Consequences

With Special Reference to India

By

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PREFACE

THIS book, as its title implies, is a simple attempt to trace the evolution of the sentiment of Patriotism from the earliest stages to the final shape in which we find it to-day. It is a small contribution to a great subject. The author is fully conscious of his own inability to do complete justice to it. An apology is always needed for a new venture in the field of authorship ; my apology is the India of to-day. I have written because I feel. Even the most imperfect book, if it breaks fresh ground, may, though itself doomed to oblivion, prepare the way for a better. A very feeble hand has lighted up the torch to pass it on to stronger arms that would bear it aloft and carry it from place to place, until the whole of India is ablaze. To those belonging to the "patriotic" camp who would not brook contradiction, I would simply say : extend to me the

charity of reading what I have written as I have tolerated the conditions which you have created, and I am sure its perusal will make you pause and reflect. Reflect and you will be convinced. The intuitive conviction must come from within, it cannot be imparted from without. If it comes to you, I am fully recompensed for such little trouble as I may have had in placing my views before you in the shape of this little book.

RAWALPINDI.

M. S. MIRZA.

INTRODUCTION

THE *raison d'être* of this dissertation is found in the intrinsic interest of its subject and in the fact that this is just the psychological moment to show how Indian students and other young men, who abandoned their studies and useful avocations, and thus lost the chances of their life, to take part in politics, only found out too late that all the "sacrifice" had been in vain.

Internal disturbances and unrest in a country offer a positive check to her political and social advancement. They are more to be deplored if they come at a period in her history when she is about to make rapid strides towards progress and prosperity. The eighteenth century saw India in those agonising throes which were the necessary consequences of the fall of a powerful Empire. The death of Aurangzebe in 1707 was the prelude to the general upheaval and disquietude that followed the disruption of the Great Moghul Empire. In Asiatic countries, such revolutions as

always attended by dreadful atrocities and bloodshed: but in India the consequences of the terrific fall of that tremendous edifice were peculiarly horrible because of the fact that this vast continent contained within itself diverse nations and communities whose perspective lay in contrary directions and whose mutually antagonistic interests made them distrustful of one another. The Mahrattas and the Sikhs saw in that turmoil an opportunity to avenge the supposed or real wrongs done by an alien ruler. To make confusion worse confounded, the once ruling nation was divided within itself. Looking to what Aurangzebe had done to the Shias in the Deccan, the Shia Nawabs of Oudh and Murshidabad and the remnant of the Shia rule in the South had no sympathy with the Sunni governors or successors of the Great Moghul, who in their turn regarded the "Shia heresy" as a dreadful tumour in the body politic of Islam. The confusion that followed and the insecurity of life and

property that resulted from the confusion require the pen of a Gibbon or a Macaulay to describe them. To those who see the hand of God in the shaping of the destinies of nations and individuals, the advent of the British was the beneficent act of Providence which brought them from afar to end that state of anarchy and chaos, because only a neutral and strong ruler could achieve that object.

The Mutiny of 1857 was the last act in that tragedy of turmoil. Slowly and gradually the clouds begin to disappear, a serene calm follows the storm; and India settles down to work out her own salvation. The work of regeneration and reformation of a country is always slow but steady. India had advanced only a few stages in her intellectual and material progress when certain "patriots" took it into their heads to do away with the foreign influence, or to use their own politic phrase, to secure Swaraj for India. The attempt was made, and it was made

at a most inopportune and inauspicious moment and with very unfortunate results. India was only in the early stages of her progress, when that progress received a rude check. The early steps of India were slow, because she was not certain of the new civilisation that she had to receive. Her doubts were now over and this was just the moment when India was to make rapid strides towards her regeneration. Of all countries in the world, India was the one least affected by the consequences of the Great War. In the words of Sir Thomas Holderness, "Economically India is not the worse for the war. During its continuance money was poured into the country in payment of services and commodities ; industries were stimulated and even created, and the collective resources of the people were very greatly increased. Agriculture, the national industry, has been little affected by the trade boom which followed the Armistice. The exhausted food reserves of the country were replenished, and thus

the cost of living has been brought down. There is an active and increasing foreign demand for the staple raw products in which India excels." Here was an opportunity for a decided and rapid advance. But every lover of India must contemplate with sorrow and with pain the political disturbances which were created just at this critical moment in her history. They could do no good, but they have certainly done much harm.

Youths of India flock under the flag of the Congress in the fair name of Patriotism, which is also perverted to be the motive force behind the murders, bomb-throwings, boycotting agitations and other what-nots of a similar nature that are disturbing the peace of India, and have added to the acuteness of the economic distress and trade-depression, of which India might otherwise have steered clear because of her peculiarly favourable situation as a country with an inexhaustible mine of indigeneous resources—a fact

which distinguishes her from the rest of the world. The aspirants to political fame and eminence must needs have a large following to lead and a big gathering to address. They cannot lay their hands on a better source than the schools and colleges to supply them with what they want. The students, whose immature intellect and imperfect knowledge of the world make them willing instruments, are allured by an appeal to patriotism and liberty, the two idols of the ancient world which their books have taught them to cherish and revere. They think they are going to be transformed into Bruces and Brutuses at once by parading the crowded bazars of a big town, with flags of liberty in their hands and shouting *Inquilab Zinda-bad*, little realising what real patriotism is and what *Inquilab* means and signifies. They seem to think that this *Inquilab*—Revolution—comes in all peace and meekness; when it comes, the foreigner will hand over the charge of the country to the

“patriots” as peacefully and quietly as the outgoing Deputy Commissioner of their district transfers the charge of it to his successor. They need reminding what the *Inquilab* stands for and indicates. The fall of the Caliphate of Bagdad was an *Inquilab*, and, we are told, the Tigris ran with blood for full three days, and huge pyramids were built of human skulls to commemorate the entry of the conqueror. There were *Inquilabs* towards the close of the Moghul Empire in India, and the old men of Delhi still pathetically repeat how often it was sacked and ruined. On one occasion the massacre was so continuous and indiscriminate that by the afternoon prayers, when Nadir Shah came to the mosque, not a man remained to be killed, and the Prime Minister of the Great Moghul was forced to supplicate the conqueror’s pardon by appealing to his mercy in these words:—

*Kase namand keh digar be tegh-i-naz kushi.
Magar keh زندگ kuni khalq ra o baz kushi.*

“Not a single man has been left to be killed by you. If you want to carry on the massacre, you will have to bring to life those whom you have already killed.”

Patriotism, and Liberty are certainly to be desired and achieved ; no one will deny their worth and value. But when and where to stop ? these are vital questions.

Patriotism, like religion, is a very noble sentiment inherent in man. It is noble because it teaches man to forget himself and sacrifice his own good for the good of the race. During the childhood of the human race, when man was hardly distinguishable from the beasts, he had to be taught to live together in amity and co-operation with his fellow beings. From the wandering career of a nomad, he had to pass on to the settled life of a citizen ; and for that stage of civilisation, the sentiment of patriotism was a necessary virtue.

To subdue his wandering instincts that had been developed by centuries of nomadic life, a very strong passion that would pin him to one place was required, and it was found in Patriotism. From the tent to the town was a difficult advance. The quality of loving one's own surroundings, those in which a man has been born and brought up, henceforth called Patriotism, helped man in this advance. The town was his possession, and like other things in his possession, man had to defend it from others. This was Patriotism in its pure unalloyed state, its two ingredients being love and defence. Active aggression, which subsequently came to be a part of Patriotism, never entered the idea as it originally took root and grew.

My firm conviction is that God did not create vice, which has no independent existence in the world. But every virtue and noble sentiment in man has a capacity to be turned into vice ; or in other words, virtue when abused is vice. Thus, soon

after its birth, the virtue of patriotism was turned into vice. But its viciousness remained hidden from the eye of man for a considerable period because of many circumstances that can be accounted for very easily ; until at last, the repeated experience of centuries has now focussed on the consciousness of man the evil consequences of this idea, which has been responsible for the greater part of the miseries, misfortunes and bloodshed that have retarded the advance of man and blotted his civilisation.

I have traced the evolution of this idea from the stern patriotism of the Greeks and diplomatic civism of the early, and the polished egotism of the later Romans, to the nationalism of the thirteenth century, which revolted against the Papal supremacy and to the militant nationalistic patriotism of the present days, which caused the Great War of 1914. Christianity stood for the universal brotherhood of man. Christ was love personified, and Christi-

anity was, therefore, to take the whole world in its loving embrace. To it, division between man and man was as unnatural as it was unjustified. Division between Christians was unthinkable ; any attempt at it was sinful ; a justification of it was unpardonable. Patriotism, on the other hand, stood for exclusiveness and preached intolerance between sections or divisions of Christians. Thus, from the very beginning of its existence Christianity looked askance at Patriotism and Patriotism distrusted Christianity. A life and death struggle between the two was inevitable. For full thirteen centuries, the complete and exclusive sway of Christianity over the whole of Christendom was acknowledged ; it was the undisputed master of Europe, and Patriotism lay smothered under its own weight, motionless and dormant as if there was no life in it. But the climax is the beginning of the fall. The officious interference of the Popes in the civil authority of Kings excited the

jealousy of the latter, whose efforts at freedom were greatly strengthened by the Schism in the Holy See. Patriotism, which had been powerless when alone, saw its opportunity and utilised it. It at once allied itself with regal power and carried the day. The authority of the Pope began to dwindle. The *Renaissance*, which later on developed into the *Reformation*, sought and obtained an alliance with regal authority and nationalistic patriotism, and this triple alliance completed the discomfiture of the Pope. But the alliance which had been necessitated by the drift of circumstances was unnatural, and, therefore, not likely to last long. The State and nationalistic patriotism had many points in common and therefore united to form one homogeneous whole which claims mastery over the consciences of men. But conscience is the chief domain of religion, which could not brook its usurpation by its former allies. The alliance broke up, but not until it had done incalculable harm to religion, which

has never been able to regain its former place in the hearts of men. This was the most lamentable result of the struggle between Religion and Patriotism.

It is an admitted fact that in these days, religion has little, or no, hold at all over the conscience of man, and that it has ceased to be the motive force behind his actions. But it is believed that this is due to the advance of Rationalism and scientific knowledge, whose light was much too dazzling to allow childish superstition and old-fashioned ideas to remain concealed in the innermost recesses of man's heart. But this is wrong. Religion is light itself, and it cannot be injured by another light. What science has done is to preach in words and show by experiment that for every effect there is a cause. Religion itself taught that there is a Cause of all Causes, and that the world is the effect of that Cause. What injured religion was the long drawn struggle between it and Patriotism. By its victory,

Patriotism has taken the place of Christianity, and has become a religion by itself. This must serve as a lesson to Indian youths. Europe could well afford to lose religion, because the European soil is not suited to its development. It was not of indigeneous growth ; it could very well be shaken off as a foreign accretion. But India can ill afford to try the experiment.

Nationalistic Patriotism has no significance and meaning when applied to India, a country with many nations, or, you may say, a country which has no unified nation, and Nationless Nationalists are the creation of "Indian Patriotism", and exist only in the imagination of Indian "Patriots". The elements that go to make up one unified nation do not exist in India. On the other hand, there are factors which go towards disruption of a nation if one is attempted to be formed out of the heterogeneous population. Under the circumstances, Nationalistic

Patriotism is out of the question, and any "sacrifice" in its name is so much labour lost.

Numerous wars, with their attendant miseries, colonial jealousy and commercial rivalry opened the eyes of Europe to the evil consequences of Nationalistic Patriotism; and the Great War dispelled the illusion entirely. The "patriotism" of the Germans was responsible for the outbreak of the war, and the patriotism of all the European nations is now responsible for the failure of all attempts at establishing peace between them as it is the chief impediment in the way of the pacific efforts made by the League of Nations. Thinkers and philosophers have openly declared that, "you'll never have a quiet world till you knock the patriotism out of the human race". India, a meek disciple of Europe, whose imagination has been fired by books written in Europe eulogising patriotism, must take a lesson from the experience of ages.

These books were written and speeches made at a time when European countries were at war with each other, and their politicians and statesmen wanted to keep the flame burning by extolling patriotism as the only virtue worthy of the gods. Their authors held partial views; the books were written with a set purpose, in times of war ; these books cannot, therefore, be good guides in times of peace. Patriotism caused wars, and the wars in their turn strengthened the sentiment of patriotism. Those responsible for plunging the country into war tried to justify their actions and carry the nation with them by appealing to the sentiment of patriotism and dwelling upon its virtues in the most glowing terms. Thus, this sentiment came to be associated in the minds of men with all that is noble and high in human nature, and patriotism was regarded as the virtue transcending all others in nobility and utility. This explains the veneration in which it has hitherto been held,

and the almost religious awe with which it is regarded. The mind of Indian youths is influenced by this exaggeratedly high conception of patriotism. But the analysis and historical survey of this sentiment as made in this book takes away much, nay, almost all, of its spurious glory, and shows it in its true colours. Now Europe has come to learn the value of patriotism and to rate it at its true worth. Patriotism took its birth in Europe, and it will eventually find its grave in that soil.

A nation can subdue another only if it can offer a better civilisation. As a matter of fact, at some stage in her history a country does require foreign rule, so that she may absorb and appropriate the ennobling characteristics of a better civilisation. Foreign rule is one of the many ways in which God fulfils Himself; it is one of the immutable laws of Nature; and when it comes, it comes as a blessing in disguise. The decaying civilisation of Greece was invigorated, improved and finally saved

from total annihilation by her conquerors from Rome; the Norman conquest of England, the invasions of the Roman Empire by the "barbarians" from the North, the Saracenic incursion into Europe, the disintegration of the Saracenic Empire by the Seljuks and the Tartars, and the flow of the sturdy nations into India from its north-west corner are some of the instances that go to illustrate this theory. It must be admitted that, of all countries, India is the one that has seen most of this foreign rule. The causes are not far to seek. In the first place, India has never entirely absorbed and assimilated foreign civilisation. She bends her head for the time being, but is always on the look-out for a chance to raise it again. She has not the gift of seeing the intrinsic worth of foreign civilisation, and as she does not acknowledge its superiority, she does not care to imitate it. This may be a good quality or a bad one; but it is a fact that this is a cause of her frequent

invasions. She remains where she was centuries ago, and the advancing nations always find her an easy prey. The second cause must be sought in her climate. Her conquerors often advanced towards her, and tried to lose themselves in her. The attempt was successful, they lost themselves; the enervating influence of the climate told upon their physique and constitution; the conquerors lay prostrate with the conquered at the mercy of any ambitious nation who would choose to conquer them both. This process has gone on since the beginning of her history. India could not be Hellenised, but the Greeks lost themselves in her. The Ghoris and the Ghaznavis came and lost themselves. In turn they were conquered by the Moghuls, who, like their predecessors, were absorbed into India, and consequently had to yield place to the British. In spite of centuries of the Saracenic rule, India could not adapt herself to Saracenic civilisation, whereas Persia quickly

Saracenised herself, if I may use the expression, and we see the difference in the result. The theory of *Chhut* (Untouchability) is responsible for keeping India aloof from foreign civilisation. Her present rulers, benefiting by past experience, are determined not to repeat the mistake of their predecessors. They keep themselves aloof from the enervating influences of the country. This, however, by the way.

Foreigners are able to hold a country so long as they retain those superior qualities of head and heart which invited conquest and induced success. The British came to India only as merchants, and they had no idea of assuming the role of rulers. They were driven to it by the force of circumstances. Their fitness to live as law abiding citizens in time of peace and their capacity to fight and win as disciplined soldiers in time of war, were tested and admired. Their stern discipline, that ensured peace and tranquility, coupled

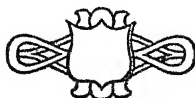
with ability and willingness to do justice between man and man, attracted Indians towards them. These were just the qualities that were wanted for the India of that day. Not that they conquered India; India forced them to assume sovereignty over her. This was the highest act of patriotism that our forefathers could do, looking to the state of anarchy and confusion that was eating away the life of the country. If left alone then, India would have either cut herself asunder or would have been a satrapy of the Napoleonic Empire. If left alone to-day, she would revert to her old state of disorder and chaos, inhabited as she is by different nations or communities who would not trust each other, and would fall an easy prey to any neighbouring State that would care to take up the management. A foreign rule is the only form of government suited to this country in her present state, because it would be neutral, as it is foreign. The British still retain those qualities which en-

abled them to win the confidence of India at the beginning of their career here. The greatest act of patriotism is to support and co-operate with the present *regime* in working out the destiny of India. The *Swaraj*, to attain which all these immense sacrifices of young lives are being made, has not even been defined so far, and India was never ruled under that form of government called *Swaraj* at any stage of her history in the past. if by it is meant the rule of the people *by* the people and *for* the people. It is said that it will be achieved and retained within the British aegis. Two Governments cannot exist in one country, and this form of diarchy has never been tried in the world so far. As a matter of fact, the present reforms have given India more than she required in the nature of Home Rule. Indians have now their full share in the administration of their country, and the highest office is open to them. Even now, as I write this, one Indian Governor rules a

big Province, and no less than four High Courts have Indian Chief Justices. They thus have the executive as well as the judicial charge of the country. This is what they could not dream of achieving even under their own rule; and in fact never in her history has India obtained such a full measure of "self-government". What is required is whole-hearted co-operation with the Government in their task of enabling India to work out her destiny. This is true patriotism.

The duty of a true patriot is to diagnose the diseases of his country and apply the remedy. The diseases of India are varied and various. The work of the patriot lies in removing the evils that are eating away the life of the country and to develop her agricultural and industrial resources. India prides herself on the possession of an inexhaustible mine of indigeneous resources, and if this is worked to the fullest extent, India will be by far the richest and most pros-

perous country in the world. Is it not the most suitable sphere of work for Indian patriots? Their success in this direction will bring everlasting glory to their escutcheons and will shed never-failing lustre on their names. They will go down to posterity as the benefactors and saviours of India in the most critical time in her history, when her very life hung in the balance.



CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

1. RELIGION AND PATRIOTISM

RELIGION and patriotism have had a parallel record in the history of human civilisation. Both have been factors of great potency in moulding the destinies of nations and tribes. They are the chief moral influences to which men have been subject. The separate modifications and mutual interaction of these two agents may almost be said to constitute the moral history of mankind. In their best days they were the chief factors for the uplift of men; in their perverted form, they were the instruments of destruction and discord. Religion has been described as "one of the mightiest motors in the history of mankind, which formed as well as divided empires, which sanctioned the most atrocious and barbarous deeds, the most cruel and libidinous customs, and inspired the most admirable

acts of heroism, self-renunciation and devotion, which occasioned the most sanguinary wars, rebellions and persecutions, as well as brought about the freedom, happiness and peace of nations—at one time a partisan of tyranny, at another breaking its chains, now calling into existence and fostering a new and brilliant civilisation, then the deadly foe to progress, science and art”. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* : Art. Religion.)

What has been said of Religion can with greater force be said of Patriotism. The fact is that all the wars and persecutions with their attendant miseries and misfortunes, from the most ancient times to the present day, have been due to either of these two sentiments, which have always, in one form or another, possessed and governed the human mind and controlled human actions. And if a separate account is taken of the influences of these two “mightiest motors” of human civilisation, the balance of wars, miseries and mortifications that have been actuated

and wrought in the name of patriotism will far exceed the sum total of these evils committed under a misguided and inflammatory influence of religion, because patriotism began to show its bad effects much earlier in the history of the human race.

II. VICE IS BUT VIRTUE ABUSED

It is a pity that Religion and Patriotism, two of the noblest sentiments in man, without which his existence would have been impossible, should have been the cause of so much misery and sorrow. But this is not peculiar to religion and patriotism. This can be said of every emotion that moulds human thought and directs human actions. The world has been so constituted that its best things can be turned to the worst ends, and this experience has led ancient wisdom to observe that extremes meet. Fire is indispensable to man, so much so, that it was once worshipped as a god : but if

not used properly and on fit occasions, it is the worst engine of destruction. Food sustains life, but overeating kills it. Arsenic, if kept under control and given in proper doses, is an instrument of regeneration and rejuvenation, in spite of the fact it is the deadliest poison. Iron, the most useful metal, is also the most dangerous weapon of annihilation. This rule holds good as much in psychology as in physics. Anger, Malice, Revenge, Envy, Distrust, Hatred are reputed to be the baser feelings in man. But do you think man could have existed as a civilized being without these feelings? If a man has to live and be respected by his fellow beings, he must resent the wrong done to him, he must be able to protect himself and those dependent on him and he must remember the injury done to him and be able to avenge it. He must hate things which deserve hatred, *e.g.*, tyranny and tyrants, vice and vicious people. The moral law within impels

him to this. But these are the same feelings and emotions which, if directed towards objects that do not deserve them, are discouraged and despised in all codes of morality. The emotion of envy is composed of two currents in man's stream of consciousness, *viz*, to admire and to desire what he admires. And it is certain that man could never have made progress in science, arts and culture if he had not been endowed with these two feelings. True, they must be kept within proper bounds and under due control, otherwise they tend to produce those results on account of which humanity has rightly come to shun these feelings, and hold them in detestation. This can be said of every feeling and affection that is found in man—despair, fear, cowardice, peevishness, sorrow, worry, conceit, and all others of the same sort. Despair is to be avoided, but at the same time man must know the limit of his utmost exertions and efforts,

otherwise he will kill himself. Fear and cowardice do not carry good names among virile nations, but man should not be so foolish as to "rush in where angels fear to tread". Sorrow and worry kill a man, but how will he be able to know his mistakes and avoid them in future, if he does not pause and reflect over the consequences of his first errors? And this consideration of past mistakes is certain to cause mental worry to some extent. Conceit is detestable; but have you not heard of a man being praised for his legitimate pride in his own achievements, and why should a man do a noble or worthy act, if he is not to feel pleasure in it? Realization of, and satisfaction for, having done a good act are the stages of the same mental condition which, beyond a certain degree, ends in conceit. Avarice, greed, cupidity, miserliness, covetousness are affections of the mind which are rightly detested by moralists; but if analysed, they can be traced to the

same mental stamina on which rest habits of frugality, economy and judicious management, and their opposite extremes, prodigality, extravagance, and wanton waste are alike abhorred by all right thinking people. Think of self-sacrifice, courage, generosity, tenderness of heart, mercy ; all these are virtues. But if self-sacrifice reaches the degree of a wanton disregard for one's own life, verging on suicide, it will no longer be virtue. The extreme of courage leads to rash foolhardiness ; generosity is laudable only within certain limits and so long as it does not tend to wanton waste. Mercy is the sign of a noble heart ; but mercy to a murderer is nothing but iniquity and injustice. Thus, every virtue when abused or carried to its extreme produces its opposite quality, which is vice.

Man the Image of God.—The Divine sage has declared, "So God created man in His own image ; in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." This is a fundamental truth, the

ignorance of which has greatly contributed to the fall of man. The conviction that vice is an instinct born with man lowers him in his own estimation; and when he feels he is fallen, he falls in fact. If you deny the truth of this biblical assertion, you are rejecting the authority of one of the inspired books which has guided humanity through centuries and in the faith of which millions of the noblest of human beings have lived and died. If side by side with a faith in it, you entertain a belief that vice has been ingrained in man's nature and that the baser instincts have an independent existence in him, you lower the dignity of Him whose image he is, and accuse his Creator of having turned out a defective production. If the production is defective, the idea which gave rise to it is defective, and if the idea is defective, the defect is traced to the Divine mind that conceived the idea. Thus, it is profane to believe that vices form part of human nature and are inherent in it.

Vice is foreign to the real nature of Man.—In fact, vice is foreign to the real nature of man. What to say of man alone, every creature from worms and reptiles to man, nay, every inanimate object that exists here below was created with an object and had its own use and benefit, and was not intended to cause harm, harm not being the primary object of its creation. It is illogical and unreasonable to believe that an All-wise, Omniscient God could have created anything bad or vicious or which had no use on earth. But it was at the same time ordained that man should have a certain amount of freedom for his choice of action, and that too had an object, because a man acting like a machine with no volition or freedom of thought and action would have been a defective production with no power to progress by evolution. This freedom has led to good results; but when abused, it also produced evil consequences.

Vice has no independent existence.—

The finer sentiments that were implanted in man's nature were turned to evil uses, and they produced their extreme opposites which are justly regarded as vices. Hence the existence of vice in the world side by side with virtue. The Persians of the pagan days (Zoroastrians) could not understand that vice is another phase or form of virtue, and they, therefore, in their attempt to explain the existence of virtue and vice were constrained to a belief in two Gods, Yazdan and Ahraman, one the Creator of virtue and the other the Creator of vice. These Zoroastrian ideas left their impress upon the Marcionites, who were the most important of the early Gnostics. They also believed in the existence of two independent principles, the one perfectly good and the other perfectly evil. Between these there existed the Demiurge, an intermediate kind of deity, neither perfectly good nor perfectly evil, who administered rewards and in-

flicted punishments. But the analysis of these two phases of mental condition as given above only proves the unity of God, showing that one original impress on all nature discloses one hand in the creation thereof.

Thus, that principle of free volition in men which is responsible for the distortion of this image of God operates to put the virtue of Patriotism to evil uses, for which it was not intended, with the result that the evils and miseries which it has produced far outweigh the good which resulted from those acts of heroism and self-abnegation which also were occasioned by it.

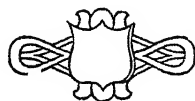
The abuse of Patriotism to be guarded against.—The efforts of philosophers and humanitarians should therefore be directed towards safeguarding against the abuse of virtues, because vice is nothing but the abuse of its corresponding virtue. Of all the virtues, Patriotism is one which has

produced the least amount of good and has given rise to the greatest amount of mischief, because it has always been liable to be misused at the very start. One flash of patriotic sentiment in the mind at once passes on to a desire of aggrandisement or domination and henceforth only bad consequences follow. But the most wonderful phenomenon in the history of human psychology is that this aspect of patriotism has, at least until recently, remained hidden from the eyes of the men of action, though philosophers and poets have from time to time laid emphasis on it, as will be seen presently; and that it has only recently, after centuries of useless wars and countless miseries, been dawning upon the imagination of politicians who have been forced to form a League of Nations to check the vagaries of patriotic sentiment in nations. As was expected, the only impediment in the smooth working of the League and the only bar to its success is this sentiment of Patriotism in

nations. I shall further pursue this topic later on.

India the disciple of Europe.—Europe has been leading the human civilisation at least for the past two and a half centuries. Since the British influence over her, India has been an admiring disciple of Europe. As was expected, the present generation of Indian youths who crammed the works of Burke and Mill without entering into their spirit have imbibed the European notions about Patriotism that were in vogue in the days of these writers. Burke and Mill wrote when England was in the grip of a life and death struggle with France. To keep their existence as a nation, it was then absolutely necessary that they should lay emphasis on the uses of Patriotism and lose sight of its abuses. One mistake begets another ; it was an error on both sides to court the horrors of war for the sake of national vanity. But to give that error a show of plausibility, another mis-

take had to be committed, that is, the justification of that error. Indian youths apply their maxims to the peaceful India of to-day. This is an error.



CHAPTER II

THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT GAVE RISE
TO NATIONALISTIC PATRIOTISM AND THE
CONSEQUENCES THAT FLOWED FROM ITS
MASTERY OF EUROPE.

BY observing the birth, gradual growth and development of the Patriotic idea and watching the various stages through which it has passed, the miseries it has given rise to, and the checks and hindrances to the progress and advancement of human civilisation that it has created, the Indian youth will be in a better position to appreciate its real worth, and to realise whether India at the present day is in a fit condition to adopt it.

Europe has afforded very genial and fertile soil for its growth ; in fact, it was in Europe that this idea first took its root and germinated ; and it is in Europe that it will eventually find its grave. The influence of Patriotism on Europe has been very marked and can be traced very easily. It

may be stated without fear of contradiction that European history from ancient times to the present day is, in fact, the history of the birth, growth, rise and gradual decline of this idea of Nationalistic Patriotism.

Educative Influence of Europe over India.—Europe is the moral teacher of India in the present age. The customs and manners of her people are aped and imitated with an assiduity which is simply remarkable. The educative influence of Europe over India is without a parallel. Indian youths take to the ideas that flourish in Europe without demur and without examining them. Mentally they are the slaves of England even at a time when they are making efforts to throw off her political supremacy. What Europeans think of patriotism in these days and how they have come to think in that way will influence the Indian mind for the better without any effort on my part.

Why European History has been selected to illustrate the development of the idea of Patriotism.—There is another ground why I have selected European history for this purpose. Religion has been a deadly foe of patriotism in every country. The former claims universality and tries to embrace the whole humanity within its fold; the latter prefers exclusiveness and wants to confine itself within certain geographical limits. Universal love is the motto of the one, national hatred is the principle of the other. In Asia, there was no struggle, in fact, the idea of nationalistic patriotism never gained ground, and there religion has had undisputed sway. In Europe, their struggle has been very marked and persistent. The history of Europe is the record of one long drawn struggle for supremacy between Patriotism and Religion. Christianity had Patriotism under its grip for more than twelve centuries, and when that grip slackened and Patriotism tried to dis-

entangle itself, it was half-dead, having lost all its primitive vigour and pristine glory. The last Great War seems to have given it a final blow. It is true that all the three great religions that claim universality, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, have had to force their way to the front. But in Asiatic countries, the struggle was against the ruler, not against patriotism as a motive power and living principle. This is the chief and very significant difference. The very beautiful principle of mercy in Buddhism and Brahmanism taught through the medium of the dogma preaching the transmigration of souls has had great influence in checking these religions from going on a warlike path. The Hindus scrupulously abstained from shedding blood on account of the fear lest the souls of their fore-fathers might be inhabiting the bodies of their adversaries. This dogma has always influenced their conduct to the best possible advantage. There have been struggles

and persecutions in Brahmanism, but more often than not, those persecutions were rather social than bloody. The great wars of the Mahabharata were fought at a time when Brahmanism had not fully developed itself and moreover, those wars were dynastic and not religious. It is certainly creditable to the humanitarian side of Brahmanism, that throughout its history, these are the only wars that can be pointed out as exceptions.

In Islamic history, there have been persecutions of the religious leaders, but these persecutions were by the king, on political or religious grounds, and not by the nation, prompted by patriotism. But the power of the Christian Church was far superior to the strength of the State for many centuries, and the gradual decline of its temporal power, due to the awakening of national or patriotic sentiment in countries, took years to bring it to the level of the State which represented, and was supported by, national sentiment.

These struggles between the Church and Patriotism very vividly illustrate the baneful effect of this patriotic sentiment which would not allow a noble and humanitarian religion to have its course in the uplift of humanity as a whole.

Books on Patriotism written by European authors have greatly influenced and are still influencing the Indian mind. A consideration of European history will disclose their true worth and value, and will convince the Indian youth that those books were written by interested persons with the set object of exhorting and inducing the nations to persevere in the "nationalistic" wars, and cannot, therefore, be good guides, as they were tainted with the personal predilections and partial views of the authors. On these considerations, I have selected European history as my present theme and I turn to it to receive lessons on Patriotism.

THE HISTORIC SURVEY OF THE IDEA OF PATRIOTISM IN EUROPE.

(i) *Awakening of religious consciousness in man.*—Now I pass on to trace the birth and growth of this idea. The finer sensibilities and higher instincts that have been endowed in man by Providence require for their exercise and development an object of worship and devotion that must be kept constantly before his eyes and for which man must subdue and mortify his baser instincts and inclinations. The fear of the many forces of nature in the midst of which man found himself placed, combined with an innate craving for immortality, led him to the worship of Nature and natural objects. Thus, religious consciousness was the first to be awakened in man, even before he had sufficiently advanced in civilisation to take to settled life and attach himself to particular land. I need not here enter into a discussion of the origin of Religious Belief

in Man, whether it was revealed to him even before Adam's fall or whether it was evolved gradually by the unaided efforts of human mind from fetish worship of natural objects that inspired awe or evoked feelings of admiration, to the abstract notions of Divine Love and Unity of the God-head. Suffice it to say that even if Religion had been revealed in its perfect condition to man from the commencement of his existence on this earth, it soon degenerated into fetish worship, which resulted in a plurality of gods. The visible objects in nature that inspired awe were worshipped and sought to be pacified as so many gods. This plenitude of deities enabled every tribe or clan, nay, every family, to have gods of its own; and these gods were carried to distant climes wherever their patron family or tribe happened to go in quest of livelihood or in pursuit of pleasure. A particular land was loved not because it happened to be a man's birth-place, but because it was the abode of his gods.

(ii) *The failure of Paganism to satisfy the higher instincts in man.*—But Paganism never did or could claim universality; and these “pet-gods”, if we may use the expression, could not for long satisfy the higher cravings in man, and present a lofty ideal for him to live by.

(iii) *Therefore, Patriotism took its place in the adoration of man.*—Thus Patriotism took the place of Paganism in the worship of man.

(iv) *Greece.*—The city states of Greece which were perforce obliged to carry on their existence as separate and independent political bodies gave rise to Patriotic sentiment as a living force to guide men’s conduct. That was Patriotism absolute, unalloyed by love of commercial gain.

(v) *Rome.*—These ideas migrated to Rome. It was the pride of the Romans to trace a connection with Greece and Troy, and they assimilated Greek ideas with avi-

dity. And the idea was not entirely foreign to Rome. The fâbulously divine origin of Rome inspired love in the hearts of her children, who looked to their land with pride and attachmênt. The place of Religion as the sole object of men's worship and devotion was thus taken by Patriotism. For some centuries before the rise of Christianity, Patriotism was the presiding moral principle, and Religion occupied an entirely subordinate position. Those examples of heroic self-sacrifice, of passionate devotion to an unselfish aim, which antiquity affords, were produced under the influence of Patriotism. Decius and Regulus, Leonidas and Harmodius are the pagan prototypes of Christian martyrs. In fact, in that age, the spirit of Patriotism pervaded all classes, and was the origin of many virtues. But there is a melancholy reverse to this picture; it was also the origin of many vices. As Lecky says, "A spirit of all-pervading patriotism led to the universal worship of force, which result-

ed in an almost absolute destruction of the finer sensibilities in man. If the Roman Civilization presented sterner virtues, it was woefully deficient in the gentler ones. Suffering and weakness met with little sympathy. The slave, the captive, the sick were treated with cold indifference and the spectacle of suffering and of death was the luxury of all classes. The welfare of the State being the highest object of unselfish devotion, virtue and vices were often measured by that standard." All the wars of the ancient world were due to this sentiment, having been actuated by the rivalry of nations in trade or conquest. The wars of Rome against the neighbouring nations, that is, Acquiens, Volscians and the Veii, the Gallic, the Samnite and the Great Latin Wars mark the steps of Rome in her course to subjugate Italy.

The whole period is a record of bloodshed. Soon after, Rome found herself engaged in a deadly struggle with Carthage. The terrible Punic Wars were due to the

national rivalries arising from a sentiment of Patriotism. Carthage was the centre of Phœnician trade, and Rome would not brook a strong and prosperous neighbour to flourish by her side. They cover a long period of 117 years (B. C 263-146)—a record of waste of life and energy. They resulted in the destruction of a prosperous commercial nation which, if left alone, would have greatly contributed to the civilisation and progress of humanity. The intermeddling of Rome in the affairs of the Greek States can also be traced to the same desire for destroying a dangerous neighbour. She began the interference with the professed object of redressing the aggressions of Philip of Macedon, but ended in subjugating Greece. Henceforth, the advance of Rome is marked with blood and rapine. The act of base treachery to an unsuspecting friend of which the noble heart of Brutus could be capable was done in the fair name of Patriotism. And the deed was as futile as it was perfidious. They killed Cæsar, but

could not subdue Cæsarism, which flourished with all vigour after his death. Cæsar had masked the iron hand under a velvet glove. By their dastardly act, his enemies lowered themselves in the estimation of the nation, whose sympathies went towards Cæsar and what was associated with his name.

Vice of Patriotism.—Such wrong and mistaken views about patriotism have been responsible for almost all the wars that have convulsed Europe from the beginning of her history to the present time. But for the miseries, loss of life and energy that have resulted therefrom and have retarded its progress, human civilisation would have been at a much higher level and the cup of human happiness infinitely much larger than what it is to-day. Patriotism gave rise to wars which in their turn strengthened sentiments of patriotism. But the greatest vice of patriotism was the narrowness of sympathy which it produced. Out-

side the circle of their own nation, all men were regarded with contempt and indifference, if not with absolute hostility. The intensity with which a man loved his country was a measure of the hatred which he bore to those who were without it. Thus, patriotism was the direct and powerful cause of international antipathies, and was responsible for incessant wars and constant hostilities.

Revulsion of feeling.—These vices of Patriotism caused a revulsion of feeling against it, and soon Christianity rose to take its place as the guiding factor and the leading principle of human action. The one remarkable feature of the intellectual movement that preceded Christianity was the gradual decadence of Patriotism, due, among other causes, to the amalgamation of different nations in one great Empire.

Christianity takes the place of Patriotism as the motor of human actions and mentor of human conscience.—This de-

cline of the patriotic sentiment greatly aided the progress of the new faith, because a religion like Christianity that claims universality and professes to ameliorate the human race as a whole, is always opposed to a strong national sentiment; its progress must, therefore, be in inverse proportion to the strength of the national sentiment. Under the influence of Christ and His immediate disciples, and earlier saints, it taught universal love and brotherhood of mankind, and inculcated and developed those finer sensibilities which had long since died out. It brought peace and a spirit of toleration to a world afflicted with long, incessant wars and mutual hatred. The religion of Christ was "neither national nor particularistic". It represented ideas surpassing the national horizon. It had in view, not the special religious wants of the nation, but the more general aspirations of the human heart and mind.

Antipathy and antagonism of Christianity to Patriotism.—Henceforth Christi-

anity, which taught universal love and brotherhood was in direct antagonism with Patriotism, which advocated international antipathies and communal jealousies. The relations of Christianity to the sentiment of patriotism were from the first very unfortunate. The Christians were completely separated from the national spirit of Judæa, but at the same time, they found themselves equally at variance with Roman patriotism. Rome was to them the power of Antichrist, and its destruction the necessary prelude to the millennial reign. They looked back with feelings of horror to the fate of the heroes who adorned its past, and resolutely refused to participate in those national spectacles which were the symbols and the expressions of patriotic feeling. "It was at once their confession and their boast that no interests were more indifferent to them than those of their country; and they avowed with frankness, long after the Empire had become Christian, that it

was a matter of indifference to them under what rule they lived.”* A great historian has observed : “ The genius and the virtue that might have defended the Empire were engaged in fierce dispute about the Pelagian controversy at the very time when Alaric was encircling Rome with his armies, and there was no subtlety or theological metaphysics which did not kindle deeper interest in the Christian leaders than the throes of their expiring country. Many of the Christians contemplated with an indifference that almost amounted to complacency what they regarded as the predicted ruin of the city of the fallen gods.”†

When the Vandals swept over Africa, the Donatists received them with open arms, and contributed their share to that deadly blow. At a later date, the Monophysites invited the Mohammadans to the conquest of Egypt.

*Lecky : Rationalism in Europe.

†Myers : The Middle Ages

Patriotism itself, as a duty, has never found any place in Christian ethics, and strong theological feeling has usually been directly hostile to its growth. It is not so with Christianity alone ; all the great religions that claim to preach to humanity at large have refused to recognise Patriotism. Islam never considered itself bound by geographical limits. It has often happened that the Moslem inhabitants of an invaded country joined their Moslem invaders and contributed to the fall of their own city. The record of Saladin's wars contains many instances to illustrate this theory. When life under the later Caliphate became intolerable, a Moslem Vazier induced the infidel Chengiz Khan to overthrow the Caliphate of Bagdad.

To some imbued with the atheistic teachings of the modern age, these acts may appear as deeds of naked treachery not compatible with any moral feeling. But

before condemning a man, we must first try to appreciate his mental condition. The basic principle of action of the theologian was identical with that of the Patriot. In the days of Patriotism, all was for the country; in the days of Religious enthusiasm, all was for the Religion. If the Patriot is not blamed for his narrow-minded exclusiveness, why should the theologian be blamed for his enthusiasm? The difference is in the object of worship, not in the mental state of the worshippers. And when we come to that, we find that Patriotism creates more loathsome narrow-mindedness and more culpable mental exclusiveness than Religion ever did in its worst days.

Patriotism confines itself within geographical or political limits, while Religion refuses to be bound by these unnatural restrictions. The limits set down by religion are much more natural and rational. And if the human family has

become too vast, and unwieldy to be looked after and loved as one entity, and if some divisions must needs be made because there is no mind vast and catholic enough to embrace the whole human race as the object of its love and sympathy, the divisions on religious lines would cover a greater area and embrace infinitely a larger portion of the human race.

Patriotism condemned by moralists.—Patriotism has been condemned by great moralists “as pure egoism magnified and disguised”. Dr. Johnson calls it “the last resort of a scoundrel”. “Patriotism”, says Ruskin, “is an absurd prejudice founded on an extended selfishness”. Mr. Grant Allen calls it a vulgar vice—the national or collective form of the monopolist instinct. Mr. Havelock Ellis allows it to be “a virtue among barbarians”.

Picture to yourself the groups of lads and ladies, actuated by their own notions about Patriotism, walking through the

high streets and bazars of big cities in India during the Swadeshi Movement days, imposing their will and inflicting their own queer ideas about Patriotism upon peaceful merchants, and peremptorily requiring them to close down their shops and thus stop all trade and business, and you will be in a position to judge of the virtues of Patriotism. You will be convinced of the higher Patriotism of the "leaders" who urged them on to this when you find that these groups were formed of young students taken out of their Colleges in the middle of their studies, who had yet to make or mar their destiny in an unknown and untried world, which so far had been a sealed book to them.

Supremacy and Domination of Religion in Europe.—For many centuries, Europe remained bound under the spell of religion; patriots whose vision did not extend beyond their own country fell in-

to disrepute; the Church took complete charge of the administration of human affairs. The whole of Christendom bowed to the authority of the Pope, who enthroned and dethroned Kings at his will. The exclusive interests of the country when they came into conflict with religious interests, as understood by the Pope, were set at naught. Patriotism in the sense in which it was understood by the Greeks and the Romans was unknown. The excommunications and the interdicts were the most powerful weapons of the Papacy ; and the most illustrious monarchs of the Middle Ages succumbed beneath their power. As Myers has said, "The period in which political affairs were most completely dominated by theological considerations was unquestionably the age of the Crusades, when religious fervour subdued all passions and absorbed all interests; national animosities that had outlived centuries were pacified by its power, and the jealousies of kings disappeared under

its influence. Governments were neglected, State coffers were emptied, millions of lives were sacrificed, and every hardship was endured with pleasure for the sake of one common cause, which was not the cause of any particular nation but of the whole Christian world." Patriotism in its palmy days cannot boast of such instances of unselfish sacrifice. And what opposed the Church in the open field was not Patriotism, it was the regal power; though when the national sentiment was awakened, Patriotism came to the help of the king and identified itself with the kingly power to oppose the papal authority.

The Investitures.—The famous history of the Investitures and the Ordinances, by which in 1319 all bishops were expelled from the Parliament of Paris, are the examples of this strenuous struggle. The unquestioning faith of the people sustained the declining power of the Pope. But the rapid growth of the industrial classes, the

revival of a spirit of rationalism and bold enquiry and the unseemly disputes of the rival Popes were the direct causes which made the Reformation possible. Kings then gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of throwing off the restraints of the Papacy. Gradually nations arose on the ruins of Papacy. But we are anticipating events. Let us go back a few centuries and trace the rise and fall of the temporal power of the Pope.

Pope Gregory I (590-604 A. D.) to all intents and purposes ruled like a temporal prince, and administered affairs like an independent sovereign. The dispute about the worship of images known in the Church history as the *War of the Iconoclasts* (726-842 A. D.) eventually resulted in the Pope's assuming temporal sovereignty. Emperor Leo the Isaurian was a most zealous iconoclast. He issued a decree that images should not be used in the Latin Churches of the West. The

Pope Gregory II (715-731 A. D.) * opposed this decree, and by the ban of excommunication cut off the Emperor and all the iconoclastic Churches of the East. This quarrel assumed gigantic proportions ; the Popes were obliged to seek alliance with Western potentates. Their alliance with the Franks placed their temporal authority on a solid basis. They favoured the Carolingian House, and secured the crown to Pippin (751-768) who, in his turn, defended the Popes against the Lombards, and made a *Donation* (753 A. D.) to the Pope (Stephen) of the lands regained from the Lombards. This endowment laid the basis of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, and gave them a solid footing in their struggle against the Eastern Emperor. It also brought the Popes into direct antagonism with Patriotism as understood in these days. They became determined foes of an Italian monarchy, and did all in their power to oppose the unification of Italy. Pippin was succeeded by his son,

Charles the Great, better known in history as *Charlemagne*. The mutual friendship of Charlemagne and the Pope tended to increase the power of both. The greater part of the reign of Charlemagne was occupied by the campaigns directed against the pagan Saxons, who alone of the German tribes retained their ancient paganism. The establishment of Christianity among them was the object of Charles in attempting their subjugation. Just at this time, the throne of Byzantium fell vacant; the Empress Irene deposed and blinded her son Constantine VI, so that she might have his place.

The Division of the Empire.—But the Italians contended that the Crown of the Cæsars could not be worn by a woman. Pope Leo, in return for many favours, placed a crown of gold upon the head of Charles and proclaimed him as Emperor and successor of Augustus. The Eastern Emperors disregarded what the Italian Pope

had done; but this act of the Pope succeeded in making two divisions of the Empire. From this time till the destruction of the Eastern Empire by the Turks in 1453 there were two Emperors, one in the East and another in the West, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Cæsar Augustus. This period is marked by a complete absence from Europe of Nationalistic Patriotism. Thus the temporal sovereignty of the Popes was exalted, and the Pope could write to the Eastern Emperor, "All the lands of the West have their eyes directed towards our humility ; by them we are considered as a god upon earth ". (Ranke : History of the Popes).

The Clergy freed from the Jurisdiction of the Temporal Courts.—Charles the Great freed the whole body of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts. The Bishops acquired the right to try all cases relating to marriage, trusts, perjury, simony or cases concerning widows,

orphans or crusaders on the ground that such cases related to Religion. In 857 A. D. Charles the Bald of France gave to the Bishops a right to investigate and try all cases of robbery, murder and other crimes. The principle was thus established that all cases might be appealed or transferred from the courts of the Bishops and Archbishops of different European countries to the Pope, who thus came to be regarded as the fountain of all justice and the Supreme Judge of Christendom, while Emperors and Kings were simply his ministers to carry into effect his sentences and decrees. Henceforth the history of the Mediæval centuries is made up of a long and fierce struggle for supremacy between these two great powers of the Middle Ages, the Papacy and the Empire, which were based upon two great ideas, World Religion and World Monarchy. The idea of the Pope was that all the Christian States should form a universal theocracy with the Pope at its head as God's representative on

earth. Pope Gregory VII was the most energetic exponent of this theory. It seemed that the patriotic sentiment which concerns itself with one country or nation alone was annihilated for ever.

Excommunication and Interdict.—

Excommunication and Interdict were the two principal weapons of the Papacy. Excommunication was directed against individuals. The person excommunicated was cut off from all relations with his fellow-beings. All Christians were prohibited from providing him with food or shelter; he was to be shunned or abhorred as though tainted with some infectious disease ; and when he died he was refused the ordinary rites of burial. If he was a king, his subjects were released from their oath of allegiance. The Interdict was directed against a city, province, or kingdom. When under this ban, throughout the region the churches were closed, no marriage could be celebrated and no burial

ceremony could be performed. The humiliation of Emperor Henry IV at Canossa may be cited as an instance in point. The Emperor opposed the reforms of Pope Gregory VII in his realm, and summoned a council of prelates, and went so far as to depose the Pope. Pope Gregory in his turn excommunicated him, and all Christians within his Empire were absolved from the oath of allegiance. The result was that revolts were fomented and encouraged, and Henry was shunned and avoided as a man accursed by Heaven. All authority slipped from his hands, and his kingdom was on the point of breaking to pieces. Henry could not resist any longer. He resolved to humble himself before Gregory and seek his pardon. He found the Pope among the Apennines at Canossa. But Gregory refused admission. During winter, for three successive days, the Emperor, clothed in sack-cloth and ashes, stood "with bare feet, in the snow of the courtyard of the castle, waiting for permission to kneel at

the feet of the Pontiff and to receive forgiveness". This was a most noteworthy scene—the Emperor a rejected penitent at the door of the Roman Pontiff. On the fourth day he gained admission and was pardoned. But Henry did not forget or forgive this humiliation. He raised an army and descended upon Rome, which was reduced almost to ruins. Gregory fled and died an exile at Salerno. Henry's humiliation however, dealt a severe blow to the prestige of the imperial power. The struggle was nevertheless continued, until at last a compromise was effected at the celebrated *Concordat of Worms* (1122). The spiritual authority of the Pope was recognised. In this contest, the Papacy gained much prestige and strength and the papal authority was supreme throughout Western Christendom. But the peace was on the surface only. The struggle was renewed between Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. The Emperor was at last vanquished and humiliated and

was compelled to throw himself at the mercy of the Pope. The *Peace of Venice* (1177) followed. In the presence of the vast multitude, Frederick cast off his mantle and flung himself at the feet of the venerable Pontiff. This was the second — Canossa. When this was the end of one of the proudest and most powerful emperors we are not surprised to find that the kings of different countries subjected themselves without a murmur to the papal authority. Philip Augustus of France (1180-1223) discarded his first wife and took another queen. The Pope Innocent III bade him take back his first wife; the king refused; his kingdom was laid under an interdict, and Philip was constrained to yield obedience to the Pope. This triumph has been pronounced as the “proudest trophy in the scutcheon of Rome”.

England under the Interdict.—A similar story is told of King John of England. He ordered the monks to fill the vacancy

to the See of Canterbury with his nominee. They obeyed; but Innocent III immediately declared the election invalid and appointed his own friend Stephen Langton to the See. John ruled that the Pope's Archbishop should not enter England, and confiscated the estates of the See. The Pope excommunicated John and laid England under an Interdict. King John was humiliated; he gave back the confiscated lands and acknowledged Langton as the Archbishop, and went so far as to give England and Ireland to the Pope, receiving them back as the perpetual fief (1213). Further, as a token of his vassalage, he agreed to pay an annual indemnity to the Papal See.

Emperor Frederick II fights for supremacy, but fails.—This was the climax of the papal authority. The Pope was the supreme head and final authority in European politics. He had humbled the Imperial power in the person of one of the greatest of the House of Hohenstaufen,

Frederick-II, whom the historian Freeman pronounces as "the most gifted of the sons of men". "Throughout his long reign, labouring much of the time under all the disabilities of an excommunication and with his authority in every part of his extended dominions undermined by the hostile activity of the papal agents, the Mendicant Friars, Frederick fought for the maintenance of the dignity and supremacy of the Imperial power. He died in 1250 with the heavy consciousness of failure. Pursued by the hostility of the Popes, his posterity was extirpated root and branch." The division of Europe into countries or nations was merely nominal: it was one Christian realm.

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM.

But extremes meet; the height of power is the beginning of weakness; and Nature has ordained that decline must commence from the very moment that

an individual, institution or community reaches the furthest limit of his or its strength and development. In fact, the very factors that had so far helped in the growth and development, henceforth contributed towards decay and decline. The revulsion against the papal authority resulted in the formation and awakening of nationalities. The sentiment of Patriotism that had lain dormant for so many centuries, began to show signs of revival, and the formation of nationalities was the result. Henceforth, the influence of the papacy gradually but steadily declined. France was the first to take the lead in the revolt against papal authority. Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) in 1296 issued a bull in which he forbade all ecclesiastical persons to pay taxes levied by lay rulers. Philip of France regarded this as an encroachment upon the civil authority. The quarrel between Philip and the Pope took an undignified turn. Philip had the nation at his back. In a States General summoned in 1302, the

three estates of the realm, the Nobility, the Clergy and the Commons, declared that the Pope had no authority in political matters in France. To save the ancient liberties of the French nation they pledged their fortunes and their lives. At Anagni, in Italy, a band of soldiers in the French pay subjected Boniface to all forms of indignities and made him a prisoner. After three days, he was set free, and he died broken-hearted in 1303. Thenceforth for about seventy years (1309-1376) the Pope, whose seat had been removed from Rome to Avignon, adjoining the French Frontier, was no more than a vassal of the French King. During this period, which is known as the *Babylonian Captivity* (1309-1376), all the Popes were Frenchmen. The migration to France lowered the Papacy in the estimation of other nations, and brought down the Pope from the high pedestal of an impartial umpire to the position of a French partisan. Thus the Papacy lost that character of universality

which had been the basis of its influence and strength. Germany and England followed France in throwing off the papal yoke. In 1333, the German princes who had the right of electing the German King declared that the German Emperor derived all his powers from God through them, and not from the Pope. The German Diet endorsed this declaration.

In 1366, during the reign of Edward III, the English Parliament formally refused to pay the tribute pledged by King John and repudiated the claims of the Popes upon England as a fief of the Holy See. Thus the English vassalage to Rome came to an end. The decline of the papal influence was hastened by the *Great Schism* (1378-1417).

The Babylonian Captivity naturally caused great discontent in Italy ; Pope Gregory XI was persuaded to return to Rome in 1377. The next year

he died, and the Italian prelate who took the name of Urban VI was elected as the Pope. He soon displeased the French Cardinals, who denied the validity of his election and set up an "Antipope" who, under the name of Clement VII, established himself at Avignon. This was the beginning of the Great Schism. "The spectacle of two rival Popes, each claiming to be the rightful successor of Saint Peter and each anathematising the other, naturally gave the reverence which the world had so generally held for the Roman See a rude shock, and one from which it never fully recovered." Gradually the papacy lost all its temporal power, though it has up to the present time retained its spiritual authority over almost half of Christendom.

European Wars due to Nationalistic Patriotism.—For about eleven centuries Patriotism had been kept under control by the papal power. But now that power gave

way to the rising sentiment of Patriotism, which soon came to be synonymous with Nationalism. Nationalism at first joined hands with the Renaissance and the Reformation to undermine the p  pal authority and afterwards, keeping alliance with the movement started by the Renaissance broke away from Religion, as a hindrance to the onward march of a nation as one body, which should not be rent asunder by theological dissensions and religious acrimony. People were carried away by the rising tide of the nationalistic sentiment, and the clash of nations was the natural result. Henceforth we find Europe in the grip of ruinous wars due to the all-pervading influence of Nationalism. The wars of England with Scotland and the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1338-1453) brought about by maritime competition and jealousies of trade between the two nations, set back the progress of the two countries by centuries. "The Hundred Years' War between England and

France was the catastrophe", writes an historian of England, "of the later Middle Ages. In each country it may be said to have put a stop to development—moral, social, economic. The character of those who fought on both sides degenerated as time went on; the kings became more despotic, the nobles more ruthless and arrogant, the townsmen more wrapt up in themselves, the peasants more miserable. The mercenary soldier, the reckless, cruel, lustful fighter by trade, became established for three hundred years in Europe; and from the time of the Free Companies of Edward III and Charles VI to the Pandours, Croats, Scottish, Irish, Spanish and Italians, free pikemen of the Thirty Years' War, Europe groaned at intervals under the horrid scourge." The Wars of the Roses in England (1455-1471), though a struggle between two parties of the English nobility, were the direct and natural result of the Hundred Years' War in France. A lawless spirit had been

engendered in the military forces, who, left unpaid, had learnt to flout the law. The soldiers who returned from the French wars found an opening for their activities in the nobles offering them service. Wars on the Continent due to a spirit of Nationalism were frequent and bloody. The Thirty Years' War (1613-48) and the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and the wars due to and consequent upon the Partition of Poland engulfed all European nations and deluged Europe with blood, till the climax to which the ferment and fever of Patriotism could take men was reached in the terrible and ruthless wars of the French Revolution (1789-1815). For one quarter of a century Europe remained engulfed under blood. From Madrid to Moscow the vast bloody expanse presented scenes of carnage and conflagration; the armies in their semi-barbarous lust and cruelty left desolation wherever they appeared. The whole Continent was deluged in blood; the progress of civilisation was arrested,

it seemed, for ever ; and Europe was plunged back again into the darkness and the tyranny of the Middle Ages. This was the work that Nationalism did. Napoleon fell, but the misfortunes of Europe did not end with his fall, because the devil of Nationalism continued to goad her into agonising throes of war and bloodshed. Each nation distrusted the other, and was ready to go to war at the slightest provocation. The alliances and combinations of different nations were nothing but so many warlike groups ready to grapple with each other. France joined Sardinia to make war on Austria (1859-60) ; War began between Denmark and the German Confederation, Prussia and Austria (1863-4). Then there was the war of Prussia and Italy against Austria (1866). In 1870-71, there was war again between the French Empire and Germany. The Boer War and the War of Tripoli are matters of our own day. Slowly and gradually at last the eyes of men were beginning to be opened to the evils of

Patriotism. But in the long list of its sins there was yet one more crime to be added, and it was the blackest of them all. It again plunged the whole world into a deadly war. The Great War of 1914 was at once the climax and the beginning of the decline of Nationalism.

Nationalistic Patriotism is doomed to die out.—The Great War sounded the death knell of Nationalism. Untold miseries and horrible scenes of carnage enacted under the guise of patriotism have opened the eyes of philosophers and thinkers to the evils of Nationalism. They know that the work of the League of Nations that has been established to usher in the era of eternal peace and make war between civilised nations impossible in future is greatly hampered by the National Patriotism which is but the outcome of supreme national vanity, narrowed down by a selfish and petty sphere of vision which requires the State to carry out its behests and bully other nations into war. The humanitarian

consciousness of, modern man refuses to recognise this antiquated and false conception of the State. The international character of Labour and of Capital tends to make war in future between civilised nations impossible. They have a constraining influence in their opposition to war. "The highly developed system of modern banking business and of the Stock Exchange, favoured by the rapid and easy means of inter-communication without regard to distance, has made all countries, however far apart, sensitive to the fate which befalls each ; and this tends more and more to make Capital an international unit, which can be, and is being used, whatever its origin, in all the different quarters where there seems a promising demand for it. On the other hand, the growth of organisation among the representatives of Labour is fast stepping beyond the narrow limits of national boundaries, and the common interests tend to increase the directness of this wider institution. Thus both Capital and

Labour are effectively paving the way, perhaps unknown to the extreme representatives of either interest, towards the increase of a strong and active cosmopolitan spirit of humanitarianism. And this spirit, at least as an ideal, is certainly dominant in the minds of the best and wisest people of our generation." Thus wrote Sir Charles Waldstein in 1894.* Speaking of Nationalism as favouring a narrow and undignified jealousy and envy for commercial advantages, he says :—

"But the whole of this conception of Nationalism, in so far as it implies an initial hatred and enmity towards other national bodies, is doomed. A few generations, perhaps, the disaster and misery accompanying this death-struggle will see the new era." These words were almost prophetic. That new era has now dawned. The growing consciousness of "human

* The Jewish Question and the Mission of the Jews, 6th Edition, 1894, page 8, seq.

solidarity" and oneness brought about and fostered by the actual facilities of inter-communication and of travel which have established affinities between the dwellers beyond the boundaries of their own country or nationality is bound to ban this narrow-minded patriotism which cannot see beyond the limits of its own country. I cannot refrain from quoting from another book of the same author. In his Essay on Aristodemocracy, Sir Charles Waldstein has conclusively shown that wars and such like disasters in the world have been due to the spirit of narrow-minded Nationalism, and that the results of the Great War amply demonstrate that we must go back to the humanitarianism of Moses, Christ and Plato. While showing that this patriotism is unsuited to the conditions of the modern age, he says, "To put it into a crude geographical formula: the sub-divisions in the grouping of people have hitherto been on the perpendicular principle; to correspond to what actually exists, they ought to be, and cer-

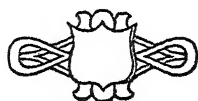
tainly will in the future be, on the horizontal principle. Human beings can no longer be subdivided by lines cutting into the earth and delimiting the frontiers of nations, still less by imaginary and inaccurate lines of established or hypothetical racial origin. Modern communications have, as a matter of fact, erased these lines, and military frontiers can only artificially restore them to importance for a short time. Even the sea no longer separates. As a matter of fact, the sea as a means of intercommunication and of commercial transportation binds together more than it divides. It is often cheaper to send goods to distant countries thousands of miles by sea than scores of miles by rail in the same country. Nor can human hearts and human minds, human tastes and habits of living, be united or kept asunder by a geographical line.

“ On the other hand, the horizontal line, which marks the moral and intellectual phases regulating the lives of human beings all over the world, does really pro-

vide us with the principle of grouping corresponding to actuality. To put it grossly: an Englishman of the criminal classes has as little in common with an honourable, noble and high-minded Englishman, as a German, Frenchman or Italian of the same low standards has with that of the higher representatives of those nations. On the other hand, the criminals in each country can readily form a brotherhood with the harmonious aims of life and habits, as the high-minded gentlemen of each nation will at once find a common ground for living, for free, profitable and pleasant intercourse and, above all, for the higher aspirations of life and living among those of the same type in other countries. These are extreme cases; but the principle applies to all the finer shadings in the scale of population, of the living, and thinking, and feeling of the nations all over the world.

“The manifest net result of these convincing and constraining political con-

clusions, both as regards the position of individual citizens and of the State as a whole, is that our fundamental conception of what a State is and ought to be is wrong, and that we must bring it into harmony with the clear and well-founded conception of modern man as in his sane moments and with the courage of his convictions he must formulate it."



CHAPTER IV

THE CRYSTALLISED WISDOM OF AGES.

THE historical survey of the rise, extension and gradual decline and decay of the patriotic spirit and its baneful effects in Europe inevitably leads to the following conclusions :—

(1) *The idea of Nationalistic Patriotism is peculiar to Europe alone.*—The idea of Patriotism as understood by Europe is peculiarly her own. The peculiar needs and necessities of European countries gave rise to and nursed it. Crammed and crowded together, with comparatively smaller geographical limits as they were, the law of propagation and multiplication compelled them to expand. The indigenous resources of European countries are extraordinarily scanty ; and are quite insufficient to keep employed the growing populations. Those attempts at expansion brought them into conflict with their neighbours.

To ensure success in those attempts it was necessary that the spirit of narrow-minded Patriotism which refused to look beyond geographical limits must be inflamed and encouraged and should be kept continually burning. On the other hand, in Asia those peculiar circumstances did not exist. Asiatic countries are vast, and wide apart from each other ; what I mean by their being wide apart from each other is that the people of one country have no points of conflict and contact with the people of another country. These vast expanses could easily contain within themselves the growing population ; and their inexhaustible natural resources supplied innumerable channels and countless means for the energy and maintenance of their teeming populations. They had no need to look beyond their own countries to satisfy their daily wants. In Asia there have been wars, but they were mostly dynastic or religious. And as their object was soon achieved, they were neither so continued in duration nor so fierce in

intensity ; and the area affected by them was only local.* It was only in pre-historic times that we learn of the teeming populations of Central Asia inundating the world. But they always looked forward and never backward ; they settled wherever they went, and soon forgot their native country. The Huns of Asia, when settled in Europe, made a new home there and forgot their Asiatic origin ; now Hungary is a European country to all intents and purposes. The Turks in Europe never looked backward to Turkestan and cut off all their relations with it. The peculiar idea of Patriotism that had been engendered in European minds by centuries of action prevented the European colonists from forgetting their parent country, and thus supplied a constant stimulus for war.

(2) *The idea is entirely foreign to India.*—This idea is entirely foreign to the Indian mind. The beautiful Religion of the Brahmans, which taught universal mercy, could not assimilate this militant

idea ; and the Brahman mind taught to see human soul even in worms and animals revolted at the idea of killing human beings. India experienced only two great wars, both in the pre-historic days ; the one of the Mahabharat, and the other of the Ramayan. The former was a dynastic war, and the latter was more in the nature of a punitive expedition than an aggressive war. During the wars of Mohammadan invaders, India was only on the defensive. The early invaders of India were Mohammad Qasim, Mahmood of Ghazni and Mohammad Ghori. Mahmood of Ghazni was prompted by love of conquest combined with religious zeal, and Mohammad Ghori was invited by the Raja of Kanauj. A wave of Arab expansion brought Mohammad Qasim to Sind. The Rajputs of India fought with all the valour of warriors determined to defend their honour and their gods, that compelled admiration even from their enemies. But the remarkable fact is that even these invasions failed to provoke a

feeling of that Patriotism which we have seen in Europe. The same fact is remarkable during the invasion of India by the European nations. The armies of the French and the English were composed mainly of Indian soldiers that fought against Indian Rajas and Nawabs. Can you imagine the French joining the British armies during the Hundred Years' War or Germans joining the Napoleonic armies? Arabia is the cradle of Islam. Islam, like Buddhism and Christianity, is a universal religion, meant for the whole world, and takes the view of humanity as a whole. An Arabian Prophet taught it, but in Arabia it does not confine itself to Arabia. The idea of Patriotism was unknown in Arabia from its earliest history to the present times. Within itself, Arabia was divided not by geographical limits, but by tribes. Love and pride of the tribe and not the love of the land filled the Arabian heart—a fact which is obvious from a perusal of Arabic poetry. The poets sang of the

prowess of their tribe and the warriors recited *rajaz* before their enemies, applauding the golden deeds of their ancestors or their tribe. The mention of the country is conspicuous by its absence. The present population of India is composed mainly of these two communities ; and if we reckon the third also, namely the Parsis, they also stand on the same level. They left their country to Arab invaders, and did not fight for it, being anxious to save themselves or their religion, rather than their country. The wars of the Saracens and the Persians in the early days of the expansion of Islam were not the wars of Arabia or the Arabians against Persia or Persians, they were the wars of Islam against Zoroastrianism. The bulk of the population of Persia accepted Islam, and they at once forgot that the Arabs were foreigners or that the subjugation of Persia by the Musalmans was any unnatural or undesirable result. As a matter of fact, it it was not thought to be the subjugation of Persia by Arabia ;

it was taken to be the conquest of Zoroastrianism by Islam. The attempts of the Persians were thenceforth directed towards absorbing the Saracens within Persia ; the idea to expel them as foreigners never entered their brain. Those who did not want to renounce their religion chose to leave their country, and migrated to India. Had the idea of Patriotism as understood by European nations had any fascination for or influence on the Persian mind, the minority, instead of migrating to a distant land, would have tried to make a stand in their own country and win to their own side the majority by appealing to their patriotic sentiment. They were thus able to save themselves and flourish again. Had they resisted, total annihilation would have been the result. In fact, Patriotism was never a motive factor in the history of any country in Asia. But are we to be ashamed of our forefathers for this lack of nationalistic spirit ? Certainly not. Europe has only now, after centuries of

bloodshed and miseries, come to know that this kind of patriotism is to be avoided rather than encouraged. The Europeans became wise after the event; our forefathers foresaw its evils and avoided it without actually experiencing those disasters. I will presently show what true patriotism is.

(3) *Patriotic sentiment is evolved and developed under indigenous circumstances; it does not exist in man and with him as an instinct.*—Patriotism like all other emotions is evolved and developed in man under the effect of external circumstances, it is not born in him like an instinct, though it may be traced to one or other of his instincts. Love is an instinct in man. It takes different names and shapes according to the objects to which it is directed. If it is directed towards a woman, the man likes and prefers that woman before all others, and desires that that woman should always remain by his side and

within sight. This is the origin of the institution of marriage. If it is directed towards wealth, the man will love wealth over all other objects, and nothing in the world will give him so much pleasure as the accumulation of riches. If it is directed towards religion, his religion will be the chief source of his pleasure. If one's country is the object of his devotion, a spirit of Patriotism is developed. The force of external circumstances determines what should be the chief object of devotion of the residents of a particular locality, town or country. This does not mean that they would be averse to or devoid of other emotions. What I mean to say is that certain circumstances determine what should be the chief object which should engross the whole attention of a particular community and before which all other considerations should give way and yield. The ancient civilised world comprised two continents, Europe and Asia. Has it never struck you that all the great

religions of the world have taken root and grown in Asiatic soil only ?* It is Asia that has supplied religions and prophets to the rest of the world. Why should it be ? It cannot be mere chance. We are compelled to conclude that the tropical climate which gives a reflective bent to the mind and creates a pensive mood has something to do with this seemingly strange coincidence, whereas gaiety in mood, and impulsiveness in temperament, leading to a thoughtless disregard of evil consequences are the characteristics of inhabitants living under a cold climate. The former supplies a congenial atmosphere for the growth of prophets and development of religions ; while the latter prepares a fit soil for the production of just that type of men whose headlong impulsiveness and dogged tenacity of purpose may make them prone to quarrels and disputes, leading to national conflicts and wars. Add to this the fact that the European soil is unfit to yield copious crops and that its natural and indigenous resources are not sufficient

to sustain a growing population; while Asiatic countries are primarily agricultural and contain within themselves vast and inexhaustible resources, and you will be convinced why the European nations, impelled by the instinct of self-preservation, should be jealous of each other, and should engage in commercial and colonial rivalries. These are the circumstances which among others have favoured the growth of that mental state which is euphemistically called patriotism. Thus, patriotism is of indigenous growth in Europe, while it is quite foreign to the Indian mind.

(4) *Indian youths are influenced by European Literature on Patriotism; but it was written for a set purpose.*—The Indian mind is much influenced by reading books on literature and history and speeches of English statesmen which by force of circumstances were compelled to applaud the spirit of Patriotism. These books were written and speeches made when England was engaged in life and

death struggles with countries of the Continent, such as Germany, France or Russia, and to goad the nation into fury and keep up its spirits by the production and promulgation of patriotic literature was a necessity. The statesmen, in order to justify their plunging the nation into war, were compelled in their political utterances to dwell on the virtues of patriotism. Indian youths are led away by the eloquence and rhetoric of these books and speeches, little thinking that these are the productions of necessity, designed to meet a particular end, and that they cannot, therefore, be safe and sure guides to mould a nation's character in times of peace.

(5) *In the struggle between Patriotism and Religion, Religion was the loser in the end.*—The long drawn and dreadful struggle between Religion and Patriotism weakened the influence of both. In view of the obviously dire consequences of each, people lost sight of their good qualities, and

remembered only their evil results. In this respect, religion was the greater sufferer, because it had to face battle on both sides, and the dissensions and persecutions within the Church itself went a long way towards weakening the hold that religion had on the minds of the people. The chief weapon of Protestantism, appeal to reason, with which it struck at the root of Papal supremacy, was a double-edged sword, and it cut both ways. As soon as the common foe, the Pope, left the arena, the two allies, Patriotism and Protestantism, fell out with each other.

Rationalism.—Patriotism took up the same weapon against Protestantism or Religion in general, which they had used against the Pope, and used it with fatal effect. People began to argue that belief in the existence of a Being who cannot be seen or felt is against reason and science and that when we know the obvious connection between Cause and Effect, why

should we believe that the particular fact is the result of the will of God? It is inconceivable that chance should have any place in the universe or that events should depend upon any but the natural sequence of cause and effect; and the notion of any interference with the order of nature must be excluded. Man, like the rest of the animal creation, is a product of evolution acting by natural laws. The "soul" of man is as much the creation of nature as any other physical object. Each human individual, like every other higher animal, is a single simple cell at the commencement of his existence. This "stem-cell" (cytula) is formed in the same manner in all cases—that is, by the blending or copulation of two separate cells of diverse origin, the female ovum and the male spermatozoon. Each of these sexual cells has its own "cell-soul"—that is, each is distinguished by a peculiar form of sensation and movement. At the moment of conception or impregnation, not only the

protoplasm and the nuclei of the two sexual cells coalesce, but also their "cell-souls", in other words, the potential energies which are latent in both and inseparable from the matter of the protoplasm, unite for the formation of a new potential energy, the "germ soul" of the newly constructed stem-cell. Consequently, each personality owes its physical and mental qualities to both parents. By heredity, the nucleus of the ovum contributes a portion of the maternal feature, while the nucleus of the spermatozoon brings a part of the father's characteristics. In this manner, man is created and his soul made. This is the beginning of his existence. The complete copulation of the two sexual cell-nuclei marks the precise moment when not only the body, but also the "soul" of the new stem-cell makes its appearance. This fact is sufficient to destroy the myth of the immortality of the soul.

This is the argument of so-called

Rationalism which seems to have influenced the mind of Europe, though it appears that it is defective and does not carry its own logic to the end. What causes led to the creation of this stem-cell? how is it formed? what causes gave this peculiar form of sensation and movement to the "cell-soul"? This argument does not give a reply to any of the questions. As a matter of fact, the modern science does not attempt to give a reply to the first "*why*". It simply neglects to notice it, and proceeds to reply to the subsequent "*why's*". Why should hydrogen and oxygen have an affinity to unite with each other to form water? What are the causes that have given rise to the existence of hydrogen and oxygen? Or, in other words, who has created hydrogen and oxygen and has endowed these qualities in them? They want to eliminate the interference of God in the creation of man by saying that man like every other animal is composed of cells, and that by analysis, his entity can

be reduced to a single simple cell. But this is not all. This is avoiding the problem just at the moment when it presents itself for solution. They dig the ground to arrive at the root of the problem ; but do not dig deep enough and leave it to lie unsolved. Anyhow, this is not the place to pursue this subject any further. What I mean to say is that the appeal to reason resulted in the formation of this frame of mind, and consequently Religion lost almost all its hold on Europe, barring of course, a minority. The Rationalists were aiming at this result, and they attained it. This is the frame of mind which is suited to form a united nation free of religious discords and dissensions. But can you say that India has acquired this atheistic bent of mind, or that it is a state of things to be desired and aimed at ? This idea can flourish only under the peculiar climatic and social conditions of Europe, but can never find a footing in the soil of India. Europe, as I have said above, was

never suited for the growth and development of Religions, which were, after all, of foreign origin, and at the first opportunity it has shaken off the foreign shackles. But to an Indian, whether Hindu or Mohamadan, his religion is all in all. In religion he lives and has his being. As the Indian population is composed of different peoples, following different religions, which have a real meaning and force to their followers, Indians can never have a united nation in the sense that France or England has. And we cannot, therefore, cite the example of those countries to lay down a form of National Government for India. And this takes us on to an allied topic.

(6) *For a smooth working of Government, the combination of the People and the State is essential.*— We have seen that the first and the earliest opposition to papal authority came from the kings. The encroachments of the Popes on civil authority aroused the jealousy and courted the opposition of the ruler. But for

centuries the kings struggled in vain to throw off the papal yoke. It was only when the spirit of nationalism arose that the kings with the whole united nation at their back were able first to check and finally to throw off the supremacy of the Holy See.

(7) *All the great wars in Europe have been directly caused by a spirit of Nationalistic Patriotism.*—The chief lesson that European history teaches is that almost all the great wars in Europe have been the immediate and direct result of a spirit of nationalism that produced mutual jealousy and hatred, which resulted in wars. It has been sometimes said that war is a biological necessity. I must confess that I have never been able to appreciate this assertion. War eliminates the strongest and healthiest of the population, while the weaklings are left at home to be the fathers of the next generation. It results in the death of many of those who are not only

physically but morally the superior members of the nation. To my mind, it is an unmixed evil, a relic of barbaric times when men fought and killed each other like dogs.

(8) *Patriotism implies and necessitates hatred towards neighbouring nations.*—Patriotism implies an initial hatred and enmity towards other national bodies, and is the outcome of supreme national vanity narrowed down by a selfish and petty sphere of vision. It creates a mental habit of narrow-minded selfishness.

(9) *Patriotism a check to human advancement.*—It supplies a decided check to advancement in all branches of human science, being the direct cause of war and rapine, which are deadly foes of civilisation.



CHAPTER V

AT THE FEET OF THE MASTER
*The drift of European opinion regarding
 Patriotism.*

Patriots are grown too shrewd to be sincere,
 And we too wise to trust them.—COWPER.

Never was Patriot yet, but was a fool.—

DRYDEN.

Patriotism is the the last refuge of a
 scoundrel.—JOHNSON.

A Patriot is a fool in every age.—POPE.

You'll never have a quiet world till you
 knock the Patriotism out of the human
 race.—GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Patriotism, in one vast moment of destiny,
 mastered the spirit of mankind only, like
 an earthquake, a tornado, a volcanic
 eruption, a pestilence or a famine, to
 sweep it to destruction.—JOHN HAYNES
 HOLMES.

That you are very patriotic will be praised
 by some and easily forgiven by every
 one ; but in my opinion it is more philoso-
 phic to treat men and things as though
 we held this world the common father-
 land of all.—ERASMUS.

Not that I love Country less, but, Humanity more, do I now and here plead the cause of higher and truer patriotism. I cannot forget that we are men by a more sacred bond than we are citizens—that we are children of a common Father more than we are Americans.—CHARLES SUMNER.

Like all other misfortunes, the last Great War also had its good results. One of them was that it opened the eyes of Europe to the vices of Nationalistic Patriotism. It only too vividly demonstrated to what degree of destruction and annihilation it can take the human race. All thinkers and historians are unanimous in finding that the rise of nationalism in European states was one of the chief causes of the Great War. While enumerating them, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes says :

The anarchy in the State system due to the rise of Nationalistic Patriotism.

“ The prevailing anarchy in the State system was becoming more acute and more

dangerous with the ubiquitous rise of nationalism. The idea that every State should consist of persons who speak the same language and share the same customs and traditions, is essentially modern. Before the nineteenth century, it found vital expression only in Western Europe, in France, England, Portugal, Spain, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. But thenceforth it flourished luxuriantly and brought forth fruit in abundance. It affected the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and created the independent national states of Belgium, Italy, Germany, Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Norway and Albania. In all civilised countries, nationalism was heightened and intensified, especially after 1880, by the development of a state-directed system of compulsory, universal, elementary education, by the spread of cheap chauvinistic journalism, by the constant increase of armed forces, and by the rising vogue of ultra-patriotic poets, historians, essayists, and other

litterateurs. Under pressure from these powerful agencies of propaganda, nationalism tended to become strikingly intolerant. It emphasised what was peculiar to a nation rather than was common to mankind. It firmly lodged in every people the conviction that they were superior to all other peoples. It gave to the masses in each country an unquestioning faith in their own collective virtue and wisdom and an equally unquestioning faith in the collective vice and depravity of their neighbours. Psychologically it paved the way to war.

“ International disputes embittered by nationalism.

“ In explaining the general causes of the World War, three special results of the rise of nationalism must be taken into account. One was the willingness and even the zeal with which all members of a national state, regardless of religious, social and economic differences among themselves, were certain to support their Government in the assertion

of national rights, national interests, and national honour. "Governments which might otherwise have been pacific were frequently goaded on to militancy by popular patriotic fervour, while Governments which were habitually truculent knew that, no matter how secret and selfish their conduct had been, they would have the unqualified aid of their whole nation if affairs reached a crisis. In this way twentieth century Governments grew more combative and the state system more anarchic.

"Secondly, the rise of nationalism embittered certain territorial disputes. The French conquest of Alsace-Lorraine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though adding a German-speaking population to France, had not evoked a strong nationalistic reaction in those provinces or in Germany as a whole; but the German conquest of Alsace-Lorraine in 1870-1871, in an era of sharpening nationalism, produced quite different results; patriotic Germans (and all

Germans were now patriotic in this matter) insisted on having and holding Alsace-Lorraine because the territory had been 'German' in the middle ages; patriotic Frenchmen (and all Frenchmen were now patriotic) longed for a favourable opportunity to regain the "lost provinces" because their inhabitants had been partially Gallicised prior to 1870 and had protested in 1871 against incorporation in the German Empire. Alsace-Lorraine was a bone of contention between French nationalism and German nationalism.

"Thirdly, the rise of nationalism actually imperilled certain great European states which had never been thoroughly homogeneous and which continued in the twentieth century to resemble in their diversity of subject nationalities the ancient Roman Empire rather than any national state of modern times. Such were the Ottoman Empire, the Austrian Empire and the Russian Empire." *

* "These Eventful Years", Vol. I, Chapter V.

Sir Charles Waldstein in his Aristodemocracy says, "But here the cloven foot of Chauvinism in a seemingly noble and more justifiable form shows itself again; and now it is in the spirit of 'national patriotism' as it may be called or of national vanity as it might properly be termed.

*"National Patriotism, the outcome of
National Vanity.*

"Consider it as you may, the fact remains that fundamentally this so-called national patriotism, which insists upon definite and distinct national expansion, is but the outcome of supreme national vanity, narrowed down by a selfish and petty sphere of vision; if it be not the grosser form of clear-sighted selfishness which only aims at its own immediate material aggrandisement, increase of wealth and comfort, to be derived, not only from the colony as such, but from every individual sent out supposedly for his own good and whose activity it is desired to limit and to hamper to the sole good of the Mother Country.

“As it has been this antiquated and false conception of the State in its relation to its citizens which is in great part accountable for the growth and development of chauvinism in Germany, and has led to this catastrophic war, so it is especially this distorted view of colonial expansion, mistaking national vanity for patriotism, which is even more directly responsible for German aggression throughout the world ; and, when fanned into the raging heat of passion through the characteristic vice of envy, has produced the spirit of hatred against the British Empire and its inhabitants which has thrown the modern German nation back to the savagery of the primitive Hun.

“And what will every right-minded German citizen say when, without even considering the injustice and savagery shown to his fellow-men of other countries, nor the initial injustice of German aggression in this war, he realises through untold suffering the misery and financial ruin of his own

country, the torture and suffering ending in the death of millions of his own kith and kin and the sadness which will come to every German home, not one of which will be free from intense anguish. What will these right-minded and clear-thinking Germans say when the scales have fallen from their eyes and they fully realise for what imaginary, what trivial and inanely stupid motives this huge sacrifice of life, wealth and happiness, a greater sacrifice than has ever been made in the world's history, has been made, this criminal war has been waged! "

Nationalistic Patriotism on the decline.— In the opinion of Sir Charles Waldstein, this national patriotism is palpably on the decline and is sure to die out owing to the "growing consciousness of human solidarity" brought about by the international interactions and communications and the international character of Labour and of Capital. The fact that the feelings and actions of international comity are bound to be injured

and hampered by any great European War, as they were by the last Great War, will in the near future effectually prevent any war between civilised and well-organised modern states. It has thus opened the eyes of all thinkers to the evils of national patriotism and vanity which gives rise to national antagonism. A spirit of national patriotism cannot thrive unless it is fed and fostered by national wars. It is certainly interesting for a student of history to observe that the wars of the Papacy and the Empire and the Napoleonic wars produced and fostered National Patriotism in Europe and the last Great War destroyed it. It owes its birth and growth to wars, and it has eventually met its death blow in wars. This fact vividly illustrates the law of nature which I have mentioned elsewhere in this book, that when any institution, idea or theory has outlived the circumstances which necessitated its existence, the same causes which gave it birth tend to its destruction.

Nationalistic Patriotism responsible for the Great War.—The tremendous amount of misery and the set-back which the human civilisation received from the Great War made men think out the probable causes of that great catastrophe. All the great thinkers of the world are unanimous in laying it down as their opinion that the spirit of national antagonism begotten of national Patriotism was chiefly responsible for it. An effort to discover a remedy which should prevent a recurrence of such calamity in future was the result of a natural craving. To the workers in this direction, this self-same National Patriotism presented itself as a formidable check to their pacific activities. National Patriotism is thus an abandoned idea in Europe.

Patriotism a vulgar vice.—In an excellent article on Patriotism, Dr. Inge, Dean of Saint Paul's (*Quarterly Review*, July 1915), quotes some moralists "who have

condemned patriotism". "Patriotism", says Ruskin, "is an absurd prejudice founded on an extended selfishness ". Mr. Grant Allen calls it "a vulgar vice the national or collective form of the monopolist ". Mr. Havelock Ellis allows it to be " a virtue among barbarians ". For Herbert Spencer it is " reflex egoism—extended selfishness;". Goldsmith says, "Among all the famous sayings of antiquity, there is none that does greater honour to the author, or affords greater pleasure to the reader (at least if he be a person of a generous and benevolent heart), than that of the philosopher who, being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was 'a citizen of the world '."

Patriotism narrows human sympathy.—How few are there to be found in modern times who can say the same, or whose conduct is consistent with such a profession. We are now become so much Englishmen or Frenchmen or Dutchmen

or Spaniards or Germans, that we are no longer citizens of the world ; so much the natives of one particular spot, or members of one petty society, that we no longer consider ourselves as the general inhabitants of the globe, or members of that grand society which comprehends the whole humankind. ”

Patriotism not a natural or necessary growth of Love of Country.—“ Should it be alleged in defence of national prejudice that it is the natural and necessary growth of love to our country, and that, therefore, the former cannot be destroyed without hurting the latter ? I answer that this is a gross fallacy and delusion. That it is the growth of love to our country, I will allow ; but that it is the natural and necessary growth of it, I absolutely deny. Superstition and enthusiasm, too, are the growths of religion ; but whoever took it into his head to affirm that they are the necessary growths of this noble principle ? They are, if you will, the

bastard sprouts of this heavenly plant, but not its natural and genuine branches, and may safely enough be lopped off, without doing any harm to the parent stock : nay, perhaps, till once they are lopped off, this goodly tree can never flourish in perfect health and vigour."

Patriotism a menace to Peace.—In his essay "Patriotism is not Enough", Mr. Holmes says, "I am certain that patriotism as it is taught and fostered in the various countries of our Western world is a menace to peace, and a well-nigh insuperable obstacle to that organization of the nations into brotherhood which can alone save our civilisation from destruction....."

Men are one, as God is one, they belong together. Any impulse or doctrine which holds them apart must be subdued and conquered if humanity is to survive.....

The present problem of Patriotism is comic, ironic, sardonic, but fundamentally tragic. Its character in all these aspects

was projected in perfect focus by the Great War. ”

War a relapse to barbarism.—While writing about the deeds of heroism performed by the belligerent peoples in the Great War Mr. Holmes says, “ The result of all this sacrificial heroism was what ? Death destruction, despair, the bankruptcy of nations, and the wrecking of civilisation—chaos in the outward order of society, disillusionment and degeneracy in the inward order of men’s minds— the relapsing of a world to barbarism ! Little was won ; well nigh everything, material, ethical, spiritual, was lost. In this the victors are indistinguishable from the vanquished. Both are involved in one common cataclysm of ruin.

Man has been betrayed by Patriotism.—“ These dead—ten millions of them ! - not only ‘died in vain’, as the living endured and suffered in vain ; they actually wrought to their own annihilation. The noblest passion of the soul, in other words, worked to ends

of evil and not of good, of death and not of life. Man was betrayed by his own best self. Patriotism, in one vast moment of destiny, mastered the spirit of mankind only, like an earthquake, a tornado, a volcanic eruption, a pestilence or a famine, to sweep it to destruction". When talking of what real patriotism is, Holmes remarks, "Patriotism, as love of country, would thus seem inevitably to fulfil itself in love of all humanity. But it is just against this final and climatic sweep of evolution that patriotism as such seems irrevocably to set itself."

Holmes has some very good remarks to offer regarding Patriotism taking the place of Religion. I cannot help quoting him.

Patriotism has taken the place of Religion.—"So true is this that patriotism has become as it were a religion to take the place of that universal religion transmitted to us from the Nazarene. For it is obvious, is it not, that Christianity cannot

be confined within the bounds of any single state? The law of love, like the law of gravitation, is a law of the world and not of any separate section of the world. Christianity, therefore, if it is not to subdue the love of country with greater love of human kind, must itself be subdued. And as one religion can be overcome only by another and more attractive religion, it is Patriotism which has come to be exalted as the true faith of our day. This faith is invading our modern world exactly as Christianity invaded the Roman world, driving out the old gods and calling men to sacrifice to new. It meets the test of all genuine religion—the willingness of men to die for the faith that is within them.

Love for Country has displaced the love for Christ.—"Men used to die for Christ, but now they choose to die for their country. Men used to pay to God that last full measure of devotion which is death, but now they prefer to pay this to their

Government. Or, not making distinction in this fashion, they identify their country with Christ and their Government with God. In any case, it is the patriotic and not the humanitarian or Christian impulse which moves their hearts. Christianity, once a passion, is now a profession. Once a confession for which men eagerly died, it is now a convention for which men indifferently live. It exists at all only on sufferance, by the concession of Governments, at the price of political obedience. Christianity in every country during the Great War became a nationalistic religion, its ministers officers of state, its altars shrines of devotion where the one sacred object was the country's flag.

Patriotism has subdued and superseded Christianity.—"As if this capture of the existing paraphernalia of Christianity were not enough, patriotism as a religion is now developing its own paraphernalia. It has its holy days, its saints and martyrs, its

sacred books and documents. In its national anthems, it has a hymnology, in its ceremonials of the flag a ritual as august as the Mass. In the grave of the Unknown Soldier it has reared an altar more sacred than any fane to God or Jesus Christ. Patriotism, I repeat, is a religion. It is a religion which has definitely subdued and superseded Christianity. It is the one religion which the great majority of men know anything about—by which, at least, the great majority of men can be moved to any high emprise of devotion. And it is this religion of patriotism which denies and defeats the ideal of brotherhood, the love of all mankind.

✓ *Patriotism a Sin.*—"It is this contemporary exaltation of patriotism into a religion necessarily parochial in its nature, hostile to all those universal humanitarian impulses which are the life of God in the soul of man, which has moved more than one thinker of our day to repudiate

patriotism as a sin, or at least as a virtue that is outworn and thus become a sin. To those, like Bertrand Russell, for example, who see in internationalism, as expressed in the organization of some kind of inclusive world society, the sole hope of humanity's survival, to say nothing of the realization of humanity's higher dreams of spiritual achievement, patriotism, like the ancient religions, seems to be demanding "its persecutions, its holocausts, its lurid heroic cruelties ; like them, it is noble, primitive, brutal and mad. It holds men apart in separate and often hostile groups. It stirs them to suspicions, hatreds and sordid lusts.

Patriotism will destroy men.—"It precipitates and consummates such enormous disasters as that of the War of 1914. Its spirit is death, its work is doom. It will in the end destroy men, if it is not itself destroyed. If humanity, therefore, is to live, say these internationalists, patriotism

must be uprooted like a poisonous weed from out of the hearts of men. If once a virtue, it is so no longer.

Its extirpation is the test and the condition of true religion.—"In the modern world, and in the light of the best that men know and feel and hope, patriotism is wickedness. Its extirpation is at once the test and the condition of true religion, as the extirpation of true religion is the test and condition of patriotism."

The extremes to which Nationalistic Patriotism can carry a nation can well be imagined by a study of the last Great War, for which German Patriotism alone was responsible. Bertrand Russell says, "German policy in recent years before the war was not averse from war, and not friendly to England. It is worth while to try to understand the state of mind from which this policy sprang.

"The men who direct German policy

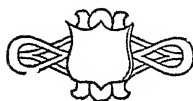
are, to begin with, patriotic to an extent which is almost unknown in France and England. The interests of Germany appear to them unquestionably the only interests they need take into account. What injury may, in pursuing those interests, be done to other nations, what destruction may be brought upon populations and cities, what irreparable damage may result to civilisation, it is not for them to consider. If they can confer what they regard as benefits upon Germany, everything else is of no account.

“ The second noteworthy point about German policy is that its conception of national welfare is mainly competitive. It is not the intrinsic wealth of Germany, whether materially or mentally, that the rulers of Germany consider important, it is the comparative wealth in the competition with other civilised countries. For this reason the destruction of good things abroad appears to them almost as desir-

able as the creation of good things in Germany.”*

A mental phase of this kind, *viz.* to feel pleasure in destroying the good things of others simply because they do not belong to one's own self, is possible only under the influence of patriotism. What it will be styled in a code of morality, howsoever low, I leave to the reader to guess.

* Bertrand Russell. “ Principles of Social Reconstruction.”



CHAPTER VI

IS THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HETEROGENEOUS POPULATION OF INDIA INTO ONE NATION POSSIBLE ?

Nationalistic Patriotism without a Nation.—The creation of a spirit of nationalistic patriotism without a unified nation is impossible, and an attempt at it is so much energy wasted. In fact, nationalistic patriotism without a nation is a contradiction in terms. A realisation of this absurdity has led the leaders of Indian thought to make efforts at forming a nation out of the heterogeneous elements of which the Indian population is composed. With this object in view, leagues or societies are here and there formed to condemn communalism and to hold it up to public derision and contempt. If we were concerned with words only, we could safely join these nationalists in scandalising communalism. But the question is : is the struggle for existence of the various com-

munities in their efforts to keep up their self-respect, communalism ? To the Nationalists, the major community is the nation. This can hardly be called nationalism; it is as much communalistic as is communalism itself.

Nationless Nationalists.—India is a land of wonders ; it has given birth to nationalists without a nation. History has known crownless kings; it had yet to learn of nationless nationalists; or perhaps these nationalists mean that all persons born in India make a nation, irrespective of other and very important factors which go towards the formation of a nation.

The Elements that go to make up a Nation.—We look to history to tell us what a nation is, and what ingredients are necessary to combine to make a nation. For a combination, it is necessary that all the atoms, elements or individuals should be attracted towards, and not repelled from, each other. For this love and attraction,

it is necessary that they should have affinity with each other. For individuals to have affinity with each other, it is necessary that they should have some factors common among themselves, apart from nearness of place. This nearness of place, either actual or hypothetical, is, of course, necessary for this combination; it will be actual if they live in one house or mohalla or town; it will be hypothetical if they live within certain defined geographical limits bearing one name, *e. g.*, India, France, Germany. This nearness of place however, is not the only thing; mutually repellent atoms may be placed together, but they will never combine to form a single body, though, of course, even for mutually attractive atoms it is absolutely necessary that they must come within the operative sphere to combine into one body. We have thus to look for other ingredients which are indispensable for the formation of a unified nation.

Common History — The first and foremost among those factors is a common

history. The different sects or communities, if any, into which the population of a country is divided, must have had a common history in the past to which all of them can look with pride. All of them should be able to say that the instances of sacrifice and self-devotion which that history records were the doings of their common ancestors. But this factor is obviously absent in India : the Parsis, the Hindus and the Muslims have a separate history of their own. Not only have the Hindus and Muslims a separate history of their own , but also those histories are “ antagonistic ” to each other. The Hindus are bound to entertain the feelings of hatred and revenge of a ruled people towards the Muslims. They maintain that they have been oppressed in the past by their Muslim rulers who, they say, broke their idols, demolished their worship places, and violated their women. There may or may not be truth in these assertions, but the fact remains that these feelings exist

and are not likely to contribute towards the formation of a unified nation. On the other hand, a sort of dislike to their common ruler or oppressor, the Muslim, seems to have drawn the Hindus and the Parsis together.

(ii) *Common Traditions.*—The other factor is the common traditions of self-sacrifice and heroism. But in India, the heroic deeds of the ancestors of one community cannot but create feelings of repulsion in the minds of the other community, inasmuch as these heroic deeds represent active struggles against that other community. For instance, the heroic deeds of Mahmood Ghaznavi and Babar cannot be the object of pride and pleasure to the Hindus and the heroic deeds of Guru Gobind Singh can raise no feelings of admiration in the minds of the Muslims.

(iii) *Common Language.*—A common language is the third factor : dialects may

be different, but the language must be the same. The influence of a common language in the formation of a nation cannot be over-estimated. ' In India it is woefully absent ; the Hindus regard Urdu as the relic of the days of their oppression and subjection, and the Muslims regard Hindi as an alien language.

(iv) *Common Religion*.—The fourth element is a common religion. Religion has played a great part in the past history of India, and is still a potent factor that influences the conduct of the people here. To defend one's religion has been the chief aim of patriotism in the past history of mankind. The memorable lines of Macaulay still produce a thrill of patriotism in the heart :

Then out spake brave Horatius,
 The Captain of the Gate:
 " To every man upon this earth
 Death cometh soon or late,
 And how can man die better
 Than facing fearful odds,
 For the ashes of his fathers
 And the temples of his gods."

In India neither the fathers nor the gods are common, and, therefore, the thought to defend the ashes of the fathers and the temples of the gods cannot enter the mind of the Hindu and the Muslim simultaneously. Can you expect nation-alistic patriotism under such circumstances ?

(v) *Common pedigree—real or assumed.*—The fifth element is the existence of a common pedigree, real or assumed. But in India common pedigree cannot even be assumed.

(vi) *Community of interests.*—The sixth condition is that there should be no diversity or conflict of interests among the various communities. Here in India, we find that every interest is conflicting.

This aspect of the situation has often been brought to the notice of the Indian politicians. But they give little thought to it, saying that when we have succeeded in attaining *Swaraj*, the various communities will, of necessity, learn to form a nation.

They cite many instances of European countries, in which, they say, people professing different faiths live together as one nation. This is begging the question. My point is that Swaraj is impossible without a unified nation. As to the instances of European countries, none of those countries has antagonistic communities of such sharp delineations as India has. Moreover, the whole population of a country in Europe has a common history, common traditions, common pedigree and a common language, though some of those countries may have different religions. There are two points to be considered in this connection, *viz* :—

- (1) For various reasons stated before, Religion has lost much of its force in Europe, and for the majority of men, it is no longer a motor of conduct as it used to be in days gone by, when in Europe also, the people having persuasions different from the majority were given no place in the

government of the country. A Christian writer says, "Christianity, once a passion, is now a profession. Once a confession for which men eagerly died, it is now a convention for which men indifferently live. It exists at all only on sufferance, by the concession of government, at the price of political obedience." *

- (2) All the countries in Europe which are cited as instances have one religion—Christianity. The various sects in Christianity are not so wide apart as Hinduism and Islam in India. They still have one God, one Apostle, common religious traditions; and their holy places are the same. And above all, they intermarry. They can still combine in common defence against the common enemy of their religion. We have already witnessed the splendid spectacle of their reli-

*John Haynes Holmes, "Patriotism is not Enough."

gious unity in the days of the Crusades, and the same unity can still be achieved, if an enemy of Christianity were to appear on the scene. The Jews are a people of different religion. And the students of history know that they have been persecuted in every European land ; they are a wandering tribe, having no land of their own ; they have only now been absorbed in the Christian population, as inoffensive people having lost their own identity and presenting no danger of opposition. Only recently their hopes of the restoration of Zion in the land of their fathers have been revived; and it is the problem of the future whether they will be tolerated in the European countries when they have come to have a land of their own. Even now it is announced in Berlin that the Jewish judges and lawyers should be removed from the Berlin Law Courts in April 1933.

It is expected that later this decree will be applied to the whole of Prussia. (*The Eastern Times*, Lahore, 23rd March, 1933.) .

Foreign Rule is the only form of government suited to India. —I think it is much too obvious that the formation of one nation in India is out of the question; in the absence of a nation, nationalistic patriotism has no meaning. Under the circumstances, a foreign or neutral rule is the only form of government that can suit India. The so-called National Government, if it ever replaces British rule, will be a government of the majority. The best National Governments in countries having only one nation are apt to become in the end the machinery of the influential to grind the weak. I cannot here do better than quote Holmes *in extenso* :—He says, “ In the primitive beginnings of human society, and still in certain countries to-day, such as Denmark, for example, we find an approximate realisa-

tion of this high aim and purpose of the state. Very early, however, we discover a tendency for the strong to capture the government, and to use its machinery for the advancement of their own personal and family interests, and for the exploitation of the masses to their own private profit. This tendency has flourished in every age like the green bay tree, and has resulted sooner or later in the complete reversal of the original purpose of government. Established for mutual advantage government has been made to serve the very special advantage of that small band of persons who control the political and, more especially, the economic life of society. Organised to give protection and opportunity to the weak, government has been operated for the deliberate aggrandisement of the strong.....

What we see in government to-day is what we have nearly always seen in the past, a small group in absolute control of the machinery of social organization, and using this machinery for the creation of wealth and

power, and the concentration of both in their own hands. Sometimes, as in the ancient Oriental monarchies, this dominant group has been a single man or family, with surrounding satellites; at other times, this group has been composed of an entire economic class.....But in all ages and under all circumstances, the fact has been the same—that is, the exploitation of the many by the few in the name of government.”

These passages read as if the writer has got the gift of prophecy, and is presaging the capture of the government by the trading class of India in the days of the Swarajic rule, if it ever comes, and is predicting the doom of the agriculturists, who must expect to be reduced to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water under that much vaunted form of government of the people for the people. These are only set phrases to capture the vulgar imagination. Otherwise, it is a fact obvious to the student of history that in all ages and under the most

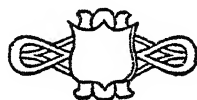
highly developed system of representation, the dumb millions have never had a real voice in the government of the country; the only difference in monarchical and representative governments is that the circle of those who govern is smaller in the former case than in the latter case. The real representation of the people is absent in both. Thus we have every reason to believe that *Swaraj* will be the Raj of the trading classes which form a minor but influential and vociferous section of the Indian population. We can best realise their anxiety to get *Swaraj*, but we certainly sympathise with those who do not belong to that class, but still have chosen to join them in clamouring for *Swaraj*.

It is obvious that for a country like India, inhabited as it is by numerous communities each distrustful of the other, having no common bond of union with the rest of the population, in which the government is chiefly concerned with maintaining peace between the different sections of the popu-

lation, foreign rule is the only suitable form of government. A neutral government having no sympathy with, or bias for, any of the combatant parties is a god-send, the worth and value of which is often illustrated when in cases of disputes between parties belonging to different communities applications are sent one after the other to the higher authorities to send a European magistrate or judge to decide the dispute as the parties have no confidence in an Indian officer. This conduct furnishes a most impartial testimony to the necessity of foreign rule, and far outweighs the logic of highly complex arguments advanced by the Congress leaders in praise of a Swadeshi Raj. The remarks of Mr. Holmes regarding the evils of exploitation of the weak by the strong in a national government do not apply to the British Administration in India, inasmuch as the members of the Government have no vested or personal interest in the country which they govern whereas in Europe and America the persons concerned in run-

ning the Government belong to the country itself, have a large network of vested personal interests spread all over the country, and have to live therethroughout their lives. There they occupy the position of a party. In India, the European members of Government reside in this country only for a term, have no motive to side with the strong against the weak and are actuated by the desire of doing a humanitarian duty by sharing in the uplift of a fallen people. By fallen people I mean the teeming millions living in villages, who form by far the great majority of the Indian population and who have always been oppressed by the former governments, Hindu, Mohammadan or Sikh. The brightest page in the history of England is the record of work done by her to raise the down-trodden Indian villagers to the level of humanity and to help towards the amelioration of their condition—social, economic and political. The ways of Providence are strange and unfathomable, and though it may take a

lifetime to realise, yet the fact is that “God fulfils Himself in many ways”. The misery and wretchedness of life in India had touched the bottom, when God in His mercy showed the English the way to India to raise the clouds of gloom and grief that were hovering over the land.



CHAPTER VII

TRUE PATRIOTISM FOR INDIA

The worth and value of an idea or institution is ascertained by the measure of happiness it yields.

THE worth and value of an idea, institution or cause is judged and estimated by the degree of happiness that it brings to humanity. When all is said and done, the fact remains that in his last analysis, man is selfish. He calculates the value and utility of things and men by the measure of happiness that he is likely to derive from them. It is in human nature to strive to achieve pleasure and avoid pain. The difference lies in the manner of attaining that end. The rude and uncultured man will go towards the goal in a blunt way ; his actions and efforts will be nauseating because they are naked and unvarnished ; but the man of courtly habits will dress his deeds in glittering garb and oil his tongue with polished speech. But the end is the

same in both the cases : in the former case, it is much too visible to the eye, in the latter case it is concealed in the maze of words. Then the object which gives pleasure differs in different cases. The Rishis and Munis, who live on mountain tops apart from the din and noise of common humanity, are striving to attain self-happiness as are those who are immersed in the turmoil of a busy life in the midst of a dense population. The one has come to realize the insignificance of this mundane life, and thinks that this life is not *the* life, that real life begins after death, and that genuine happiness is that which one will get on that side of the grave. I may say here in passing that Europe has long since passed this "monkish stage". Anyhow, we can say that one derives happiness from adoration of God in his own way; the other thinks that it is not safe to give up pleasures in the present for the sake of undefined happiness in the future. He, therefore, runs after the pleasure of the

senses in this world. There are some who find pleasure in particular pursuits ; there are others whose sole happiness lies in hoarding wealth. But to attain happiness is the end of all. Another axiom to be formulated is that physical pain can never give mental pleasure, for the simple reason that mind has a physical basis, unless, of course, a man endures pain to attain future bliss, as taught by his religion. History records instances of individuals, chiefly among Arabs and Romans, who courted death simply to show to the world that they did not dread it. Roman philosophers cultivated the habit of ignoring pain and tried to eliminate the element of dread from death as much as they could. Death is a reality, and they wanted to face this fact with as much boldness as they could muster. But experience has shown that it was only a philosophical pastime, not meant for ordinary mortals and not workable in daily life. That philosophy is no longer in vogue, and that phase of

mind has long since gone.. And after all, justify it in any way you can, it was self-mortification, and mortification is mortification, not pleasure. The amount of exertion that the cultivation of that habit called forth is itself an evidence of the fact that it was unnatural.

The object of man's life is thus, in effect, the attainment of happiness. A moralist will say that the object of a man's life should be the advancement of humanity. I have no quarrel with that, but it will come to the same thing. In the first place, the uplift of humanity as one family, and not the advancement of a particular community or nation, should be the aim and object of a man's life. And then, what is meant by the advancement of humanity? What is the standard by which we can judge that a particular action is likely to advance humanity a step further, and that another will lead it in a contrary direction? Advancement of humanity is

the advance of man towards the object of his life.' The same question arises again : What is the object of life ? Philosophers have written volumes on this subject. To me it appears that, in a nutshell and taken in a practical sense, to derive the greatest measure of happiness from life without causing any unhappiness to others is the be-all and end-all of life. This is a very frank admission of an obvious truth. We are to deal with human nature as it is, not and to build moral castles in the air on the foundation of what it should be. It is human nature to strive to attain pleasure and happiness for one's self and to shun pain. The efforts of every living creature, man or beast, tend towards that direction. It seems to be the one purpose underlying nature. The instinct of self-preservation is based upon this ; and without this desire in man, the world would have come to an end ere long. However diverse the activities, and however different the men-

tal outlook of each, to attain happiness is the end of all. Thus, a standard is gained whereby to judge human actions and institutions. Let us judge the Nationalistic Patriotism that is in vogue in India these days by this standard. I have said above that Europe has, by experience, learnt to discard this militant Nationalistic Patriotism as the chief cause of human miseries, and as the only bar to universal peace, and to the establishment of a Heavenly Kingdom on Earth.

The Patriotism that is in vogue in India cannot conduce to happiness.—It is to be regretted that what Europe has thrown away as trash, India should have picked up in the hope that it may turn to be glittering gold. We must remember that that kind of Patriotism alone is useful and to be desired which contributes towards the accumulation of happiness and preservation of peace in this country. That false patriotism which leads to breaches of the

peace, creates disturbances, causes young men to be sent to jails and to the gallows, spoils the young lives of students, kills trade and destroys agriculture and industries is to be avoided. We should never forget, it is the chief thing to be borne in mind, that India is in that critical stage of its advancement when a country requires complete peace and freedom from internal disturbances and external aggression in order to develop its resources to the best possible advantage and to the fullest extent. India abounds in natural resources, and expects her sons to do their duty by sparing the best brains to contribute towards her prosperity. The greatest misfortune that can befall her at this juncture is that her tranquility be disturbed and the continuous advance towards the development of her resources be broken by breaches of the peace, by a constant struggle between the ruler and the ruled, and that the best brains of the country be diverted to those fruitless pursuits which are sure

to end in anarchy and chaos. The youths of India seem to imagine that their country has reached the ultimate end of its material prosperity, and that it can now safely take to the pastime of indulging in politics. It is certainly the eighth wonder of the world that sons of a country which contains within its bosom the treasures of the world, which abounds in natural resources, and offers vast fields for industries and manufactures should be dying, not in hundreds, but in millions, of hunger and poverty, complaining on their death-beds of unemployment. Instances of suicides due to poverty are becoming more frequent every day. Are not these sad facts sufficient to make our political leaders pause and reflect whether the course they are pursuing leads to India's happiness or is dragging her to her final ruin. What India needs is peace and tranquility.

The "Swaraj" of the imagination of the present "Patriots" is impossible.--The present administration, which affords pro-

tection from outside attack and promotes internal peace, must be helped and supported ; it is not to be discarded and disowned simply because it happens to be run by persons from beyond the seas. It is simply foolish to go after imaginary *Swaraj*, which has not so far been defined, and which gives no guarantee of peace and tranquility. Two very vital factors in the attainment of *Swaraj* are uncertain. In the first place, there is no likelihood of any success, and in the second place, it is not certain that happiness and peace will attend that order of things which will succeed the present state. The probabilities, nay certainties, are that both these factors will go against us. Our efforts can never succeed in throwing off the British rule, which has the accumulated force and strength of centuries behind it, and which has been shaped and moulded by ancient veteran politicians and modern statesmen. *Swaraj*, if obtained, will be a new-born baby, caressed and nursed by amateur politicians whose experience in

the administration of a country has not even commenced, and whose chief training in the matter of administration has never exceeded the limits of a Municipality—that nest of quarrels, turmoils and childish jealousies which has so far supplied a laughing-stock to outside observers.

Swaraj has been interpreted in many ways ; and it has been said that we can get *Swaraj* within British rule. But this is mincing matters for the sake of giving the propaganda a show of constitutional agitation, otherwise the demands that are made and the occasional outbursts of frank expressions of opinion of certain persons here and there clearly indicate which way the wind blows and what the real intentions are. Two Governments cannot exist in one country ; *Swaraj* and British Raj cannot go on side by side. If *Swaraj* is synonymcus with Self-government why has the latter phrase not been used and why has the word “ *Swaraj* ” been coined for that unknown

form of Government, to attain which these efforts are said to be made? Government of the people for the people and by the people are phrases taken from the constitutions of those countries in which one nation exists, and that nation is the ruling nation. These phrases are inapplicable to, and impossible of fulfilment in, India, where there are numerous communities or nations, each standing in constant distrust of the other, and where there is already an established Government. These pet phrases of the nationalists will be applicable to India if we do away with the British rule, and take the life out of the minor communities. Then there will be one nation and one Government. *Swaraj* like *Swadeshi* means "of the country" as opposed to "foreign". Efforts are being made to bring into hatred and contempt British rule and to create a state of chaos. It may be said that this terrorism which is rampant is disowned by the Congress which cannot therefore be made responsible for it. But

is it not the direct and logical consequence of the speeches that have been made on the Congress platform from time to time? The fiery speeches made at the Ravi Bank at its memorable session at Lahore are still ringing in the ears of the Indian youths. An individual or body of individuals must be held responsible for the direct and logical consequences of their actions and they cannot plead that any particular extreme consequence was never intended by them.

You cannot overthrow established rule by mere non-co-operation and passive resistance, though by these means you can throw obstacles in the way of its smooth working. Elaborate preparations of war-like methods are necessary and much blood is sure to be shed before you can meet on equal terms the Government which has so many resources at hand. Thus it is quite impossible that you can overthrow the British rule. Suppose for the sake of

argument that you have succeeded in doing so, picture to yourself the condition of India after this terrible struggle. You will have been thoroughly exhausted and weakened. Each community will distrust the other. An harmonious settlement is out of the question. You will then be at the mercy of any strong warlike nation which may be ready and near at hand to subdue you. Are you sure that the coming foreigners of the future will be any the better than the British? You have heard of the French and German rule over the countries governed by them and you know, too, how Russia rules its millions.

The possible objections to the foregoing arguments.—A critic can advance the following objections to the argument that has gone before:—

- (a) If selfish happiness and one's own pleasure is the end of life, the immense sacrifices that have been made in the past by patriots and religious martyrs have been

in vain and would never have been made if this state of mind had been the ruling one in those days :

- (b) Foreign rule is to be cast off at any cost and any sacrifice ; and
- (c) We are striving only to remedy the evils of the British rule that have crept into it. We do not mean to do away with it.

Their refutation.—The argument that follows is intended to meet these objections :—

The word “ selfish ” has come to have bad associations about it ; if it means one’s own happiness, and this is the meaning which must be given to it in view of what has been stated before, I have no quarrel with it. A man cannot discard self, all the books that have been written on morality in modern times do not teach renunciation of self. What is to be avoided and discarded is one’s own enjoyment based on,

and giving rise to, the unhappiness of others. There is an instinct in man to feel pleasure in relieving the pains and troubles of others. If a man possesses sufficient wealth and means to relieve the miseries of others, he will feel pleasure and derive happiness from using his resources for the amelioration of the conditions of others ; and this " selfish " happiness of one will be a source of comfort to many. Thus the end of one's own life is one's own happiness, though one should cultivate a habit of deriving pleasure from innocent pursuits and relieving the miseries of others. I am aware of instances of persons dying for the sake of others. Their actions were laudable and must be regarded as pole stars for the guidance of coming generations. But all the same, they died because living in the circumstances then existing would have been more painful than death. I do not mean that death is the last and the greatest source of pain ; sometimes life becomes more painful than death.

Death is the negation of all pain and pleasure, and if life becomes positive pain, death must be preferred to it. The object for which they died demanded that sacrifice. The question of questions is : whether the present state of our country requires that we should send the fittest and ablest-bodied men to the gallows for the sake of an imaginary Swaraj? Moreover, one thing has to be borne in mind. A man is a bundle of emotions and his actions are swayed by one passion that happens to rule all others for the time being. The actions that are done on the impulse of the moment under a transitory but dominant passion are to be treated as exceptions for which no rules can be laid down. Suppose I see an infant falling into a river from the arms of her mother, who is standing on the bank and watching her young one being drowned. I take a jump into the river to save the child. No theories can be formulated for actions like these. Formulas and theories can be made only for such

actions as are done after consideration and when one has had time to reflect on the pros and cons of them. Before risking his life in ventures which are calculated to compel public applause, a man has to see whether his death for another will not cause greater misery to a greater number of people. Suppose a man has very old parents and a very young child to support. He is called upon to die for the sake of another. Should he die without hesitation and should he not reflect that he will save one but cause endless miseries to half a dozen others who will be in a worse condition than death ?

Yes. Patriots have died for their countries and martyrs for their religions. The case of religion stands on a different footing ; religion enures for the benefit of all humanity and all countries. Even if one's death for it causes miseries to his dependants, the death is worth seeking because it tends to save religion, that is to

benefit a much greater number of people than those whose lot is made miserable by the death of one man. But patriotism has other considerations governing it, and those considerations will be apparent after a survey of the lives of patriots and a history of patriotism. The rule of the Romans over countries other than Italy, the rule of the Saracens over countries not their own, the convulsions due to French Revolutions are the epochs of human history that will guide the present discussion. A study of those times leads to the following conclusions ;—

STAGES IN THE SUBJUGATION OF A COUNTRY BY FOREIGNERS.

(i) *Resistance at the Commencement and the Time for Patriots to flourish.*—The resistance to foreign rule is made at the start when the foreigners come to subdue the country. This is the time for the patriots to flourish and become famous.

(ii) *Foreigners subdue if they offer better*

civilisation.—The foreigners subdue a country only if they can present a better civilisation and open greater vistas of human happiness. Otherwise, the invaded country succeeds in repulsing them.

(iii) *Period of peace and prosperity follows*.—After the foreigners have subjugated the country, their rule is acquiesced in by all. A time of prosperity follows, because the fruits and benefits of a better civilization are recognised and reaped by all. This is the time which is marked by the absence of “patriotism” and “patriots”. This is a very significant fact.

(iv) *The fall of the foreigner comes from within, not from without; it comes if the civilisation which sustained him gets corrupted*.—In course of time, every human institution is bound to decay and deteriorate; the healthier the constitution the greater the resistance to decay and decline, but the end has to come. When the civilization that has sustained the foreign rule so

far shows the sign of deterioration and the principles of law and justice upon which the administration was based and sustained get relaxed, the whole fabric begins to tremble and totter and at last falls down with a crash which shakes the whole world to its foundations. The fall of the Holy Roman and the Saracen Empires are instances in point. The more gigantic and huge the edifice, the greater the shock. But its fall comes from within and not from without. The foundations are sapped from within and are never dug from without. This is a point to be studied and attended to very carefully. If the decay is not from within, no amount of effort or force on the part of the so-called patriots can succeed in shaking off the foreign rule. If the administration is strong and salutary, the patriotism of the patriots lies in helping it because the sole end and object of a government is good administration. If the administration of law and justice leaves nothing to be desired, there is no use in

trying to replace it by a system which has not been tested by experience and even the rudiments of which are still unknown. If a man wants to fight a robust constitution and good government, he, like an inexperienced surgeon who cuts off a healthy part, succeeds only in shedding useless blood and causing avoidable miseries and in the end injures the cause which he professes to advocate. Brutus and Cato and their companions could only kill Cæsar but not Cæsarism, with the result that the latter flourished in its naked vigour and threw off even that mask which it wore during the lifetime of Cæsar. But when the Empire had outlived real and wholesome imperialism, it fell down even at the touch of a few Barbarians from the north, whom it had despised all along. This is again the period of patriots and patriotism, because they can accelerate the end which is sure to come.

Patriotism not wholly useless.—It can

be said that if analysed this argument leads to the conclusion that patriotism and patriots are useless. But this is not so. In the beginning of the attack by foreigners, if the native country is healthy and strong it will repulse the attack by means of its soldiers and patriots, whatever name you choose to give them. Towards the end they will serve the purpose of hastening the fall of an unhealthy body. At their own time and in their own place patriots are good ; but even the best thing, if out of time and place, tends only to produce evil consequences. Good *halva*, rich with ghee, almonds and walnuts, is very nourishing and sustaining to a healthy man, but give it to a man who is suffering from liver or stomach complaint and you will see the consequences. Similarly, patriots (meaning persons ready to attack and displace the existing system of government) are not required so long as the existing administration goes on well and healthily. If they begin their activities at this stage, they

simply add to the miseries and unhappiness of their country. Following modern notions prevailing in Europe, Indian youths dislike foreign rule. These ideas have migrated to India and have turned the heads of Indian youths. But a student of history will give a different verdict. An Arab sage has said :—

Khuz ma safa da' ma kadar

“ Take what is good and pure and leave that which is filthy ”. We need not accept every idea that comes from Europe as the gospel truth. I have already shown that native and foreign are terms that have no real distinction so far as humanity as a whole is concerned. A broad and enlightened mind should despise the restrictions and limits placed by geography as it has come to despise the narrow outlook afforded by religion.

The necessity and advantage of Foreign rule—But even accepting these restrictions, I say that foreign rule is as much

necessary for the healthy growth of a nation as the engrafting of a foreign scion on a tree. A nation, in course of time, is bound to die ; and if it does not receive fresh blood and youthful vigour from outside, must die its natural death. The periodical amalgamation and intermixing of nations is the means whereby Providence or Nature revives and rejuvenates dying nations. Greece had lived its days when Rome again brought it to life. By taking them into its embrace, the Roman Empire infused a new life into the subject races. Then the Roman Empire in its turn fell a prey to the laws of Nature, which have ordained that everlastingness and permanency shall belong only to God and that human institutions must rise and fall. No one can say that the Norman invasion of England was without its good results to the invaded country. The prosperous and peaceful reigns of Canute of Norway and William of Normandy gave England what she wanted—rest and security. While

discussing the results of the Norman conquest over England, an English historian says, "In learning and art, England had everything to learn from its close union with the more civilised inhabitants of France (Normandy). The most famous artistic productions of the Normans were their great cathedrals and abbey churches, which sprang up everywhere during the reign of Henry I and after Stephen's time.

“Again, following the military occupation came a peaceful invasion of the industrial and trading classes on a much greater scale than that which had taken place in the time of Edward the Confessor. Every Norman noble and abbot, as he settled in England, gathered round him a little colony of weavers, tailors, masons and artisans of all sorts, whose dwellings, with those of the merchants, clustered round the castle or abbey. It was to this infusion of foreign blood that the English

towns owed much of the wealth and importance to which they attained during the peaceful reign of Henry .I, and which enabled them to demand, and in some cases to purchase, charters of self-government from him and his successors The demand for these charters is the first sign of the slow transformation of England from a purely agricultural country, in which the villages were the centres of national life, to an industrial and commercial community, in which the towns became the strongholds of liberty, culture and progress. This process, often retarded by civil wars, and obscured by the glory of foreign conquests, has had more to do with the silent growth and elevation of the English people than the most brilliant achievements of its kings. Thus the Norman conquest, besides bringing the English permanently within the circle of European interests and implanting in them a vigorous feeling of unity, gave them a strong impulse along the

path that led towards freedom.”* Green, in his memorable history, says : “ It was partly to this infusion of foreign blood, partly no doubt to the long internal peace and order secured by the Norman rule, that the English towns owed the wealth and importance to which they attained during the reign of Henry the First.”† Nationalistic patriotism has no doubt held up to universal derision “ the Barbarians from the North ” who destroyed an effete civilisation as represented by the then Roman Empire, and Vandalism has become synonymous with ferocious cruelty and hostility to the arts and literature. But is it not a fact that the Roman Empire died because it had ceased to be worth living and that the Barbarians came as a blessing in disguise ? The Vandals lent much of their vigour and vitality to the old nations, and erected a much more magnificent edifice over the remains of the older one. It is

* G. B. Smith : *Outlines of British History*.

† J. R. Green : *A Short History of the English People*.

an historical truism to say that much of what Europe has to-day is due to the "Vandalism" of the Vandals.

The Persian Empire had outlived itself, and the Persian nation was almost dead when the contact with the Arabs resuscitated it. The Middle Ages saw Europe enveloped in total darkness. Youth had turned into old age; to European nations it seemed that the end of the world was drawing near; and the devout Christians began fondly to expect the return of the Messiah, when all at once the influx of the Saracenic nations into Europe turned despair into hope. Darkness vanished and light regained its sway. The Europe of to-day owes its being to the Saracenic invasions; but for them the book of knowledge would have ever remained sealed to them; stores of Greek wisdom and learning were opened, and they began to drink old wine from new bottles. In the course of time, Saracenic strength ebbed

away. After the Saracens had done their duty by infusing new life into the old nations of Europe and Asia, they themselves fell a prey to those laws of nature which have ordained that stagnation means death. In Asia, the Seljuks and the Tartars gave the decaying Saracenic civilisation a new lease of life by destroying the old skeleton of the Caliphate and taking its place. In Europe, the Saracens yielded to the native nations of Europe who had been invigorated by contact with Saracenic civilisation and founded numerous kingdoms of their own. In course of time, the strength was sapped from the foundations of these kingdoms and they were tottering to their fall, when the French Revolution came. Instances from history can be multiplied to show that the gift of foreign rule is one of the many ways in which God fulfils Himself. It is thus obvious that foreign rule is a blessing in disguise. It has been provided by Providence and is a necessity. It infuses new life into the

subject races. Their outlook is changed ; they begin to see the world with a new and brighter light. The point of view from which they have been accustomed to look at life and at the world is changed, and with this change of the angle of vision, the whole world looks quite different and new to them. The nations who had become old and decrepit get back their youth and youthful imagination. This is the gift which the foreigner gives to the subject races ; and verily it is a very valuable gift.

Thus the point that remains to be looked into is this: Has British rule outlived its day in India? This will take us to a survey of its past history, how it came here, what evils it combated, what was the condition of India in those days? In what respect was it superior to the civilization that it replaced? What gave rise to it? What were the causes of its growth here? On what was it based and what sustained it? Have the signs of de-

cay begun to appear now? and have the factors that created and sustained it, ceased to exist?

The condition of India on the eve of the British conquest.—Let us see what the condition of India was on the eve of the British rule here. The Moghal Empire had outlived itself and was tottering to a fall; numerous principalities, too weak to oppose a foreign attack but strong enough to reject the overlordship of the Moghal Empire, had sprung up all over India. Bengal disowned Delhi. There was a Nawab at Murshidabad another in Outh; Asaf Jah in the Deccan, Haider Ali in Mysore, Nawab of the Carnatic a rival of Mysore. These were the rival Mohammadan rulers. Mahrattas in the Maharrashtar had made their appearance. They were powerful enough to tease and annoy their neighbours, but not powerful enough to restore peace and tranquility to the country. The Sikhs in the Punjab were also trying to make their existence felt.

And what is more, the spring in the north-west, which had so long supplied new blood to India, had dried up at its source. Kabul and Persia were busy with their internal strifes and they were not in a fit state to take in hand the sovereignty of India. That the Mahrattas were not powerful enough to present a united front to an outside enemy or restore peace to India is proved by the fact that Ahmad Shah Abdali, with his handful of men from the north, was able to deal a deadly blow to them on the battlefield of Panipat in 1761. It was a blow from which they never recovered. Ahmad Shah Abdali himself was busy with domestic troubles at home and could not undertake the remodelling of India on better and healthier lines. He left her to herself, with the result that constant turmoils and perpetual depredations became matters of daily occurrence in India. Life and property were unsafe. Thuggee was raging with all its vigour and the country was honeycombed with

bands of Thugs. This was just the time when foreign rule from outside was needed because India was unable to steady herself with her own unaided efforts from within. The laws of nature must assert themselves. Her salvation came in the shape of the British rule. It was hailed as the only means of salvation because it alone afforded internal peace and tranquility and guaranteed safety from outside attacks. It brought with it the blessings of a superior civilization which attracted India towards it.

Why were the British hailed as the Saviours of India?—History tells us that the armies of the British were composed mainly of Indian soldiers, and that the Nawabs and Rajas tried to ally themselves with the British and sought their aid. The British were thus hailed by our forefathers as the saviours of their country and not shunned as enemies from a foreign land. Why so? Were our fore-

fathers all unpatriotic ? . Their conduct shows what patriotism really means and signifies. They saw that the British alone could end that state of perpetual anarchy and incessant warfare, and that they alone could rid the country of the ills that it was prey to and safeguard it from outside attack. This was real patriotism. Or would it have been patriotic to leave the country as it was, a nest of Thugs and an abode of demons of war ?

The picture of India if the British had not come.—Picture to yourself what India would have been to-day, had not Clive won it in 1757. That state of anarchy would have continued for a very considerable period. Want of a strong government produces anarchy even in a country inhabited by one nation ; the extent of anarchy and unsettledness is bound to be unlimited and misery unspeakable in a country inhabited by so many nations mutually repellent living in constant dread and

distrust of each other. The evolution of a strong government from within was impossible. The Mahrattas had been crushed on the field of Panipat never to rise again; Haider Ali and Tippu would have proved too much for them. We know that the Mahrattas subsequently gained some strength to give battle to the British, but it was only because Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Asaf Jah had been tamed by the British. Had they been left alone to square their account with the Mahrattas, the latter would not have found strength to stand against them. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was only a Lieutenant of Ahmad Shah Abdali and he would not have been left alone by the northern Pathans to strengthen himself into a powerful ruler, had not the British appeared on the scene and given him respite to arrange his house. No Mohammadan ruler just then was able to control the situation. That state of anarchy and insecurity would have continued for a considerable period until some

neighbouring nation, Russia or Afghranistan, would have cared to look towards India and end the state of anarchy by annexing it, or at least a great part of it, to their kingdoms. It is just possible that Napoleon, whose romantic imagination had been fired by the traditional riches and gorgeousness of the East and whose insatiable ambition was ever prompting him to imitate Cæsar and Alexander in their Eastern campaigns, might have found a congenial home in India, and might have built a French-Indian Empire here. We know that, when cornered in Europe, he had designs to form a kingdom in India and was already in communication with Tippu of Mysore with a view to gain a footing here. Whatever would have been the state of India, it is certain that the Hindu nation would not have been what it is to-day without the British rule. These years of peace and tranquillity and of immunity from foreign attacks and internal strifes, coupled with new ideas and notions as to character-

building and nation-forming that have come here in the trail of English education have transformed a rabble of mutually repelling castes with heterogeneous elements into a formidable nation with a homogeneity which defies disruption. This would not have been possible in a state of anarchy or even with a strong Asiatic ruler, whether Sikh, Mahratta or Pathan. The Asiatic notion of a strong Government is that it does not allow a discordant voice to be heard, and nips it in the bud, if any is raised. The development and propagation of ideas that go to evolve a nation out of discordant and mutually repellent elements require freedom of speech and the medium of a so-called nationalistic press. Years of unrestricted speeches on the platform of the Congress, broadcasted by a free press, have been able to produce the present "Indian Nation". But these things would not have been possible under an Asiatic Government, not even under Napoleonic rule. Were not therefore your

forefathers the real patriots even from your point of view when they hailed the advent of the British rule ?

To support and co-operate with good government is Patriotism.—The next question is : Will you not be rendering a duty to your country and be patriots in the real sense of the word if you support and sustain that rule ? Its answer brings us to the discussion as to whether the British Administration does, or does not, retain those virtues which were the creative factors of its existence in India, and but for which India would not have rallied round it when it first made its appearance.

The virtues which made India rally under the British flag.—These virtues were :—

- (1) Single-minded devotion coupled with ability to do justice to all, irrespective of caste, creed and nationality.
- (2) A studious avoidance of interference in matters religious.

- (3) An honest desire to impart education to India and raise it to the status of prosperous and enlightened countries.
- (4) An ability to defend India from outside aggression and save it from internal strife and disorder.
- (5) To help in the gradual growth and evolution of a healthy homogeneous nation.
- (6) To help in the development of internal prosperity and indigenous industries, agriculture and trade.
- (7) To give the people an effective hand in the administration of the country.
- (8) To respect the people and keep their own prestige.

It is obvious that these are the objects which, if achieved, ornament and embellish the escutcheon of any Government, and

even Swaraj as opposed to foreign rule cannot aspire to achieve more than this. And if we can show that the British have achieved all that, and are making honest efforts to achieve more, we shall have shown that the British rule is the only form of Government to be desired for India, that it would be most unpatriotic to desire a change or to place hindrances in the way of its smooth working and government, and that in fact, it will be the act of greatest patriotism to co-operate with it. We take up each of these points one by one.

(1) *Equal and Stern Justice*.—Justice is the basis and root of all good governments ; and it is the only foundation upon which Divine rule on earth can be established. It inspires confidence and devotion in the subjects, and raises the ruler to the level of a celestial being above the ordinary run of mankind. A survey of the history of mankind shows that the sign and

emblem of every, good and respected government has been that it hates invidious distinctions of position and birth, and administers equal justice to the meanest of its subjects as against its richest and most influential ones. All governments fail when this sense of stern justice gets weakened. The first and the earliest sign of the decay of a government, however glorious in appearance it may look, is that it begins to pamper favourites and gathers round it a circle of heavenly beings who, to the rest of the subjects, appear as the favourite ones whom the hand of justice does not and cannot reach. This was the state of things towards the end of the Moghal Empire, and we know the result. This effusion of favouritism in the atmosphere led to the lack of confidence which in the end made all men rally to the British standard, under which alone they could find equal justice. And it can be said with confidence that the British Government still retains that quality. In an

enquiry whether a particular government is careful to administer equal justice, the first thing to be seen is whether the laws of that country are certain and whether they encourage any distinction. In this matter, there can be no two opinions here. In British India, laws are certain, govern all alike, and contain no exceptions in favour of riches or position. The highest officer of Government is amenable to the law of the country and is apt to be hauled up before a court, if he contravenes any. Thus it is obvious that in India, the laws are no respecters of persons. Now we come to their administration. Almost all the trial courts, civil and criminal, are presided over by Indians who are directed to pass orders in accordance with the law. They are expected to do justice, and if any one of them is influenced by the position of the party before him, and passes unjust orders for that reason, it is an individual act for which the administration cannot be held responsible. You can hold private enquires or ransack

Government niches, you will not find a single instance in which a judge or magistrate was punished, rebuked or taken to task for passing orders according to law because the order went against any particular person whom the Government favoured.

British traditions and the unwritten constitution of England have constructed a system of administration of justice under which to retard or hamper the course of justice is impossible ; that judges should be influenced by any other considerations than those of justice is repugnant to the British mind. The executive has been jealously kept apart from the judicial administration. The former cannot influence the latter, while the latter can check the vagaries or curb the unlawful activities of the latter. The historical controversy between Lord Impey, the Chief Justice of the High Court at Fort William, and Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, is an instance in

point. Lord Impey succeeded in placing the judicial administration beyond the pale of executive interference, and that principle still governs the present administration. The impeachment of Warren Hastings by his own people conclusively proves British love of justice, and is sufficient to silence those who say that the British govern India for the one-sided gain of England.

This impartial and equal administration of justice is a beauty which you cannot admire too much, and this is a quality which was promiscuously absent from ordinary Oriental governments in ancient times, a few individual and honourable instances excepted. I purposely refrain from citing instances lest I might offend certain lovers of the past ; but the fact is much too obvious even without instances. Picture to yourself the conditions of life under Oriental governments. There is always a circle of the favourite ones who commit any offence with impunity, and what is more, openly ; the

hand of justice cannot reach them, and the aggrieved person has to submit to the ignominy and injury with "*Sabr*", lecturing himself into patience by saying "*Nawab ya Raja ka khas Admi hai.*" So far, the Eastern mind has been unable to shake off false notions of egotism which induce a man to covet the distinction of being above the ordinary law—a phase of mind which is responsible for the many evils of favouritism and self-aggrandisement found in the working of a Municipal Administration, which is self-government in miniature. The Eastern mind has always been fond of showing distinction by way of flattery to its superiors in position and claiming distinction when in a position to do so. It would not like to be governed by the ordinary law, if it can help it. Home Rule, Self Government or Swaraj, whatever name you give it, when attained, will be the rule of a few favourite ones, either individuals or communities, and the rest will be only serfs, hewers of wood and drawers of water, toiling for the sake of their lords.

Do you like that your "patriotism" should bring you to the threshold of that sort of government? We can well understand the anxiety to attain Swaraj of those persons or set of persons who are sure to form or be drawn into that favoured circle. But they alone do not constitute the entire Indian population; there are others, though not so vociferous and ambitious, but more numerous, who also have a right to live in India. India is pre-eminently an agricultural country; and agriculturists form the bulk of its population; and are the bulwarks of its safety. So far, we find that the Congress platform has had no place for them, and the Congress legislation studiously omits them from its calculations. Can you expect that they will have an effective voice under Swaraj? Another notable fact is that the Congress has been entirely captured by the trader class. The interests of the trading class always run counter to those of the middle and the poor classes. If they get the upper hand in the adminis

tration and capture its legislation they will surely try to achieve their end with the help of the legislature and by means of those nice and thickly veiled devices coming from an intelligent and complex brain, which will defy detection. A certain section of the so called Nationalists has begun by patronising Bolshevism and Bolshevik principles, because they serve their purpose at this stage of the struggle, by alluring to their standard the imaginative youths, whose imagination has conjured up before their eyes the dreams of a Utopia in the future, where equality will reign, undisturbed by riches and influence. But it is sure they will not long stick to those principles, for the obvious reason that those principles are not the outcome of a healthy evolution of the factors that go to make up Indian society and build up the Indian mind. They have been borrowed from foreign society under the force of circumstances and are sure to vanish when those circumstances cease to exist, giving full scope for

the play of the native mind. The calculating brains of *banias* can ill brook the bans placed on accumulation of riches by communism.

The above discussion shews that under the existing Government, we find that laws are certain and just, and their administration impartial and that they show no signs of deterioration in this respect.

(2) *Non-interference in Matters Religious*.—This hardly needs discussion. The British have observed and still observe an attitude of non-interference in religious matters.

(3) *Education*.—The best education which a European nation could impart to others has been, without grudge, given by the British to India. We need not enter into a discussion as to whether that education was or was not suited to India at this stage. What they possessed they have, with an honest intention, given to us. And this is all we are concerned with at present.

In fact, they have made much too rapid strides in this direction, so much so that we can properly enquire whether it would not have been better had it come gradually and slowly. Personally, I am of opinion that the much too quick displacement of Oriental learning and ideas by European thought and culture has had the effect of revolutionising and unbalancing the Indian mind and that this mental revolution has not been an unmixed good. It would have been much better if it had come gradually and in such a manner as only to help the Indian mind to evolve for itself the principles of social life, modes of daily living and principles of political advancement. The more an Indian considers the subject the more he should feel himself under a deep debt of gratitude to the British, who have opened up vast resources of acquiring education and have brought to his doors vast stores of Greek learning and Roman culture that had been accumulated by centuries of toil and experience. The torch

of light and learning that had been held aloft in India by her past rulers had almost burnt itself out here, and if the advent of the British had not illumined the horizon by fresh light from the west, the country would have remained under a night of total darkness.

The Government has provided facilities for technical and industrial education, and if Indians fail to make full use of these opportunities the Government cannot be held responsible. We fail to know what sources of knowledge and means of education will be available under Swaraj, which may be wanting under the British Government.

(4) *Ability to Defend India from Foreign Attack.*—I need hardly say that India under the British enjoys complete immunity from outside attacks and internal strifes, in spite of the warring and self-destructive elements of which the Indian population is composed ; such a state of

immunity would be entirely absent under Swaraj. Swāraj is bound to produce mutual rivalry and hatred between the numerous communities and sub-communities, resulting in a lack of confidence and perpetual struggle among each other, which is destructive to internal peace and harmony. And this internal disorder is bound to invite foreign attack.

(5) *The Formation of a Unified Nation.*—By keeping an even balance between the different communities and classes of people in India, the Government is trying to give them a practical lesson towards uniting themselves into a whole and healthy nation. They are forced to live in peace with each other, and this compulsion is bound to result in a habit in course of time. Under the imaginary Swaraj the persons in power will favour their own class and will thereby widen the gulf between classes.

(6) *Agriculture, Industries and Commerce.*—There are various departments

under the Government which look after and help *Agriculture, Industries and Commerce*. Factories and big industries receive concessions and other encouragements for the promotion and advancement of these important branches. Government Agricultural Farms set examples of good farming on modern systems with modern and the best implements. The zamindars are invited to observe and emulate them. The zamindars and artisans, who are slow of understanding and most conservative in their habits, do not utilize these opportunities as much as they should, and the work and duty of genuine patriots lies in exhorting and prompting the zamindars and artisans and craftsmen to take advantage of these facilities and utilise these opportunities in the best possible manner. Those among the patriots who are rich and who can afford to set up large factories or industries can lead the way and afford good guidance for others to follow. They would spend their time, leisure and abilities much more

usefully by concerning themselves more in social uplift than by going into politics and fighting for an imaginary Utopia. If the agricultural and industrial resources of India are utilized to the fullest extent and Indian mentality is trained and educated to evolve a social system under which the various communities live amicably and peacefully and learn to love their neighbours as much as themselves, India will be the best and most prosperous country in the world. This is the work of which any citizen could be proud. The agricultural and industrial resources of India are inexhaustible, and the possibilities and potentialities of progress and development that lie dormant are various. This is real patriotism, to direct one's attention to this aspect of advancement, and make efforts towards the attainment of this goal. Many generations of real patriots willing to work in this field are required before complete success may be achieved. A sound social system is bound to give rise to a healthy form of

Government. To suppose that the achievement of political freedom will of itself create a sound social system is tantamount to expecting that a good harvest will be reaped if seed is sown without tilling the ground. The "patriots" who are trying to mend matters on the political platform have begun at the wrong end. The object of all political struggle is to create a system under which people can live in peace, harmony and prosperity. But no change of Government will bring you nearer the goal unless and until you have purged the social system of all vices and have so educated the public mind as to live in mutual love and confidence. With a vast conglomeration of communities seething with hatred against one another and living in mutual distrust and intoleration, the evolution and development of a good government is impossible.

(7) *Self-Government.*—The Indian people's share in the administration of their

country. The progress of India under the British ægis may well be described in the words of King Edward in his gracious Proclamation which he issued in November 1908 on the eve of a memorable advance in the constitutional system of India. "The journey was arduous and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow ; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred millions of the human race, under British guidance and control, has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours with clear gaze and good conscience ". The progress has been continuous indeed ; but the pace has greatly quickened since the present century opened. The Morley-Minto Reforms gave to Indians a decided share and an effective voice in the government of their country. The Executive Council of the Viceroy and the Executive Councils of Governors of Provinces were thrown open to them. The Legislative Councils were en-

larged, and the elective element predominated over the official one. The constituencies were so devised as to secure a fair representation of different classes and interests. This was "a real and important advance". But a real step towards responsible government was made by the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. "The Legislatures are now bodies of considerable size. The great majority of the members are elected by constituencies, and the official representatives of the Government are comparatively few..... The Central Legislature is bicameral, consisting of the Legislative Assembly of 140 members, of whom 26 are officials, and the Council of State of 60 members, of whom 20 are officials. These bodies have their own Presidents and Vice-presidents, and their procedure is modelled on that of Parliament..... The Governor's Executive Council represents the official government, responsible with him to Parliament, and administers what are called 're-

served -subjects ' or departments, such as law and order, justice, police. But along with the Executive Council, there are Ministers chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council who administer 'transferred subjects', such as education, Public health, and the like.—— The Legislative Council has effective means of determining policy in all departments of the provincial administration, as it votes supplies and legislates." (Sir Thomas W. Holderness.)

The administration has been thoroughly Indianised. The highest office below the Viceroyalty is open to Indians. There is an increase of Indian element in the Government offices. A majority of the Collectors and Deputy Commissioners and Magistrates are Indians ; the Indian element predominates in the Imperial as well as Provincial Services. No less than three Chief Justices of the Indian High Courts and Chief Courts are Indians ; and Indians

form a majority in the constitution of the High Courts. In the Punjab, the majority of the Sessions Judges are Indians. I think this *Swaraj* is more useful and beneficial than the undefined, unknown Utopian sort of scheme which the " patriots " are agitating for.

A new era will commence with the introduction of the third instalment of enhanced political powers which is shortly to come. Rai Sahib Ch. Chotu Ram, a veteran politician of sound and sober views, has contributed many articles on the coming Constitution. I take the liberty of quoting from them. He says, " There is no doubt whatsoever that Provincial Autonomy will be a marked feature of the next Statute, and if this autonomy is not as full as it might be, and is not as complete as it ought to be, the blame must be laid, at least partially, at our own door. Petty jealousy and puerile distrust of each other which we exhibited at every turn have de-

prived us of the heritage which was by right ours. The real dispute was between the Britishers and Indians, and the measure of political freedom and constitutional independence which India was to enjoy in the British Commonwealth of Nations was the question in issue. Communal claims and class wranglings changed the whole aspect of the controversy. Our own political insanity raised the Britishers from the position of a party to the status of a judge and replaced the issue of India's freedom by the communal distribution of political privileges which the British may elect to confer upon a distracted and divided subject race. Muslims will not trust Hindus, Hindus will not trust Muslims, and Sikhs will trust neither. Instead of communities combining together to secure the maximum of political power in the Central as well as the Provincial sphere, we chose to exhibit the spectacle of a house divided against itself. Both Hindus and Muslims seem to have been vieing with each other in lay-

ing emphasis on the need of the protection of the interests of minorities, to the sure detriment of the measure of India's freedom. They insisted on statutory safeguards in favour of minorities, and failing these, they reposed greater confidence in the Governor-General and the Governors than in their own countrymen. Under these circumstances, the list of the special powers reserved to the Governor-General and the Governors was bound to swell. With our own hands we inject central responsibility and provincial autonomy with the bacteria of disease. After that we cannot expect to have a sound, healthy and vigorous plant of responsibility or autonomy, though with a little careful treating and nursing it may be possible to minimise the effects of the disease. Upon the success with which we can make use of the new opportunities now being conferred upon us will rest our claim to the full status of nationhood and the plenitude of political power and consti-

tutional liberty to which all patriotic Indians ardently aspire."

Commenting upon the irresponsible attitude of the present Ministers towards the House and their party the learned writer goes on to say, "But all this is going to be changed. The impregnable fort of reserved subjects is going to be razed to the ground. Irresponsible members of the Executive Council are going to be replaced by responsible Ministers. The official bloc will disappear from view. Nominated non-official members will follow suit. Ministers will be entirely responsible to the House and will be dependent on the support of their party. The vote of the Council will no longer be barren of results. The decisions of the Council will, in every case, lead to the exact constitutional action indicated by the decisions It will not only be responsive but responsible It will live if the ministerial party continues to feed it with its support. It will

die if this party withholds the support which is the means of its sustenance."

Anyone who runs may read that the complete Indianization of the Administration has been attained. It remains only for the Indians to make it a success. This is a perfect Swaraj without its attendant evils. You see the sagacious politician is complaining of "our political insanity", which makes us distrust each other and would not allow us to reap the full benefits of any political scheme. Picture to yourself the complete anarchical state to which this "distracted and divided race" is sure to carry India if the controlling influence of the British is withdrawn under that much vaunted scheme of political regeneration called Swaraj.

India never had "Swaraj" in the past.— I wonder if India was ever governed under or by *Swaraj*. Indian History is divided into three periods, viz, Ancient or Hindu period,

Mohammadan period and the British period. In the annals of neither of these periods do we meet this word Swaraj. India has always been governed by kings of one family or tribe. We hear of Rajput rajas, Buddhist kings or Mohammadan rulers. Was India under Swarajic government when the Rajputs ruled her or when the Buddhist kings held her under subjection? Or was the Mohammadan rule a Swarajic form of administration? The people of the country never had any hand or voice in the administration of their country; and the ruler always belonged to one family or caste which was as much alien to the rest of the people as the British are. Very often the language and manners of the ruling family were also different. The Rajput kings had nothing in common with the Brahmanic population; and the Rajput or Mussalman rulers were as much aloof and foreign, so to speak. If you can point out to any particular period of her history as an instance of Swarajic rule, we can pick out sufficient

material to form a definition of Swaraj. But when you are unable to point out a single instance of Swarajic government in the past history of India, how can you expect that she will evolve a system of Swarajic rule for her future. The past or the present is always the father of the future.

Swaraj does not exist in any other country.—Leave India alone. Point out any country in the world which is governed by your Swaraj. It is said that Swaraj when attained will exist side by side with British Rule in India. Have you ever read in history of a country having a double government ? Dominion Status is demanded for India, but I don't think it is synonymous with Swaraj. Do you think that political agitation and political crimes will cease if Dominion Status is granted to India ? Dominion Status is the goal of only the *moderate* section of the politicians ; the craving of the Congress creed is much more

drastic than that, and Swaraj is never put on a par with it. Swaraj can thus be defined as a scheme of administration which was never tried in India and has nowhere else come under the purview of practical politics, and which exists only in the imagination of dreaming philosophers.

As I have said above, India has got all that Indians could demand in the way of sharing the administration of their country. The best and most useful patriotism is to lead this experiment to success by co-operation with Government and with one another. Non-co-operation or putting hindrances in the way of the smooth working of the administration is simply suicidal, and is bound to lead to total wreck and ruin. The British Government is in the heyday of its power and prestige. Far from showing signs of decay and decline, it is developing strength and vigour day by day. It is aiding India in her moral and material advancement and as it is able and will-

ing to give all that we can legitimately aspire to, it will be nothing short of suicide to create an atmosphere of chaos and anarchy by untimely agitation.

II.—WORK FOR REAL PATRIOTS OF INDIA

We have seen that the goal and object of all human advancement and civilisation is the attainment of happiness for the individual, to create that congenial atmosphere and produce that combination of felicitous circumstances under which each individual should be able to satisfy the cravings of his senses and faculties, physical as well as spiritual, and derive the greatest possible enjoyment from the environment in which he has been placed. A state of perpetual distrust, war and struggle. is the negation of all that makes for human pleasure and happiness. The world is again coming round to the view that the state, nation or community exists for the individual and not the indi-

vidual for the state or community. What value will you set upon a state, nation or community whose individuals are living a life of misery and pain, though the machinery of the government may be working perfectly all right and may look flourishing and prosperous to all outside observers—a state of things which is not altogether unthinkable, and which has come to exist in our own day. A man is a bundle of habits, and he can so habituate himself as to go on working like a machine without life and zest. Such unemployment as is found in India is almost normal, and can be easily remedied by diverting her youths to indigenous industries and other vocations which are only too numerous, considering the vast, unexplored resources of the country. Nationalistic patriotism of to-day is militarism, pure and simple. I admit patriotism is a virtue, but man is being devoured by this virtue. It is a virtue which denies and defeats the ideal of brotherhood—the love of all mankind. In the words of

Holmes, "it holds men apart in separate and often hostile groups. It stirs them to suspicions, hatreds and sordid lusts. It precipitates and consummates such enormous disasters as that of the War of 1914. Its spirit is death, its work is doom. It will in the end destroy men, if it is not itself destroyed. If humanity, therefore, is to live, patriotism must be uprooted like a poisonous weed. If once a virtue, it is so no longer. In the modern world, and in the light of the best men, who know and feel and hope, patriotism is wickedness. Its extirpation is at once the test and the condition of true religion, as the extirpation of true religion is the test and condition of patriotism."

What is real Patriotism.—Patriotism is love of one's own country. Love is a good quality and the country where a man is born and brought up, and the streets and the minarets which have become endeared to him with associations of his childhood

deserve the first place in his heart. It is thus our chief duty to find out what is true and real patriotism. Generally speaking, it is a devotion to those with whom we are socially akin, "which fulfils itself in devotion to the whole with which we are spiritually akin". Love of country is thus love of humankind. It is certainly sweet and glorious patriotism to live for one's country, "to heal its diseases, to extirpate its poverty, to conquer its ignorance, to banish its injustice. What more heroic task than to labour for the uplift of its people in health, happiness, comfort, enlightenment and virtue!" Patriotism does not lie in the boom of guns and the clash of arms. Invaders who come to attack a country from outside are not so dangerous as the enemies who sap its strength from within. "Corrupt business men—trusts and monopolies which exploit the people, as tyrants used to plunder them—employers who crush labour, and thus create the poverty of the factory

villages, and the city slum—traffickers in vice who, with women, drugs and liquor, corrupt the young—gamblers, profiteers, patrioteers—men of every type who live like rats at the expense of public wealth and health—surely, these are enemies of the nation, as truly as armed invaders from abroad, and in fighting them we are defending our native land.”

ILLS OF INDIA

I now proceed to point out the various ills to which India is subject, and the extent of the disease will indicate the sphere of work for true patriotism.

I. THE SOCIAL TYRANNIES

The first task of the Indian patriot is to ameliorate the social condition of India, and reconstruct a social basis for Indian society. The human race from the beginning of its existence on this earth, has suffered from two kinds of tyranny, political and social. Of these, the social tyranny is the most acute.

and pursues the individual to the most sacred and secret corners of his hearth. It is, therefore, the most galling, and makes the whole life of the individual miserable and unbearable. Even a casual observer of Indian society cannot fail to notice the social tyranny under which a vast section of the Indian population is groaning.

(a) *The Untouchables*.—The first to attract notice are the untouchables of India, whose very shadow pollutes and contaminates. By this time, this evil has become much too well-known to require a lengthy dissertation. Happily the politicians and public men of India have begun to pay a divided heed to this question. This diversion has to some extent relaxed the political tension.

(b) *The Kamins*.—Taking the village as the unit of India, we find that every village has a portion of its population called *kamins*. They are looked down upon by the rest of the villagers and can never aspire to a matrimonial alliance, or to an

equality of status, with their fellow residents of the village. They have certain legal disabilities in the matter of alienation and so forth. They are the hewers of wood and the drawers of water of the village, and drag on their contemptible and despised existence on God's earth.

(c) *Disinheritance of females*.—Another social tyranny which stares one in the face in the Punjab villages is the disinheritance of the daughters and other females. This evil custom has been borrowed from Hindu Law without its redeeming features and wholesome checks. Under that law, the females must be given by their parents their Stridhan and dowry which often more than makes up their share in immovable property. This provision of law during the days that it was enacted was very necessary and essential, considering the need for a compact body of males supported by a joint holding of immovable property which could not admit of division. If

the daughters who must leave the parental roof on marriage were to be given a share in landed estate, it would mean a division of it. Owing to the laws of exogamy, the property given to the girl went almost to strangers, and this was not considered advisable, owing to the state of circumstances then prevailing. But now the conditions have changed. These precautions for self-protection are no longer necessary. The disintegration of the family is almost complete. The distant collaterals, who one fine morning find themselves heirs to a large estate, never lived with him whose estate they are called upon to inherit. The ties of love are broken; but the rigour of the custom which was based on the hypothesis of commensuality still exists, though commensuality is gone. The wholesome ceremony of making ample provision for the girl on marriage is no longer in vogue. Thus all the conditions which took the sting out of the custom are absent, but the custom is there. Those who have had

to administer law in the Punjab fully realize the injustice of the custom and the cruelty which it gives rise to. The only daughter of a big landowner is left destitute on her father's death, and his property goes to the distant collaterals who, in nine cases out of ten, have had bitter enmity and protracted litigation against their relative whose estate they are to inherit. Even the Mohammadans, whose religious law strictly enjoins them to give a share to the daughter in the inheritance on pain of eternal perdition, follow this custom, which is obviously unjust and unreasonable.

(d) *Child Marriage*.—Then there is child marriage, that mother of all ailments to which Indian womanhood is heir and to which the deformity and debility of the manhood of India can be traced directly. The Sarda Marriages Act to a certain extent only effects a reform in this direction. But social reform by legislative enactment is the last thing to be desired, and is no

reform in the proper sense of the term. The reform must come from within, and be based on the conviction of the people. Most people consider this to be a needless interference in their religion. Moreover, the low age limit which has been fixed in the Act is not the proper age for marriage. This is a compromise with the evil. The remedy itself shows the extent of the disease.

(e) *Extravagance on Marriages.*—Needlessly extravagant expenses on marriages is another evil which needs eradication. A man finds himself quite destitute after the marriages of his children. But he must spend money, borrow it, if he has not got it, because the social conditions require it. This is one of the chief causes that reduce people to penury, and are responsible for the destitution of families.

(f) *Selection of a match for the child.*—The mention of marriage takes us to connected themes. The selection of a match

is one of them. This duty is undertaken by the parents, and in nine cases out of ten the selection proves a failure. Apart from the fact that the likes and dislikes of each individual are different according to his or her temperament, the marriages are performed at an age when all the faculties have not budded forth their blossom and when the earning capacity and ability of the bridegroom is unknown. And more often than not, the parents care more for the money which the connection will bring to them or to their child rather than the physical and temperamental fitness of the pair. The parties to the marriage do not derive real happiness from it. They take it as a necessary evil, and have to put up with the companion whom they dislike but whom they must tolerate. This is one of the chief causes of domestic unhappiness. We so often read of suicides by young girls because of their having been yoked to aged husbands. They prefer death to such a life. But these tragic deaths do not divert

the attention of our so-called patriots, who are busy with their political wrangles. Even when there is no disparity in age, the constitutional or hereditary disease in one of the partners spoils the life of the other, and is the cause of the procreation of unhealthy offspring. But physical fitness, apart from some obvious deformity, is the last thing which ordinary Indian parents would care to give a thought to or take precautions to be sure about in the partner which they select for their child. They pay their undivided attention to the riches or the social status, and leave the rest to chance, or to God, if they are religious minded persons. But the riches they would not leave to God, because this is a point which affects them also.

(g) *Forced widowhood*.—Allied to the child-marriages comes the subject of child-widows and the tyranny of the custom which forces a permanent status of widowhood upon them. The miserable lot of the

widow is so fully known and the evil consequences of this forced widowhood are so well recognised that I need only refer to the subject to conjure up in the mind of the reader all those miseries, sorrows, pains and curses, that a widow has to suffer and endure throughout her life. Very eloquently and pathetically has Miss Sorabji described the lot of an Indian widow. She says : “ The orthodox Hindu widow suffers her lot with the fierce enjoyment of martyrdom----- but nothing can minimise the evils of that lot----- That she accepts the fact makes it no less of a hardship. For some sin committed in a previous birth, the gods have deprived her of a husband. What is left to her now but to work out his ‘ salvation ’ and by her prayers and penances to win a better place in his next genesis ?-----For the mother-in-law, what also is left but the obligation to curse ? But for this luckless one, her son might still be in the land of the living There is

no determined animosity in the attitude. The person cursing is as much an instrument of Fate as the person cursed." ("Between the Twilights", pages 144-6.)

(h) *The Joint Family and the subjection to the leader thereof.* The mention of the mother-in-law reminds me of another tyrannical social institution—the joint family, that remnant of the Roman *Patria Potestas*. The conditions which gave it birth have changed, and the circumstances which proved its utility, and were responsible for its continuance no longer exist. But India, well into the twentieth century, must have the joint family, with all its vices and none of its virtues. It cramps the personality of the younger members, retards the full development of their faculties, and makes drones of them. Their wives and children are at the mercy of the elder members. And herein comes the proverbial tyranny of the mother-in-law to her daughter-in-law.

When I say Indian, I mean it. .My remarks are not confined to the Hindus only ; because the social customs and manners of all of the Indians are almost the same, with the exception, perhaps, of the question of widow marriages, which is more religious than social.

(i) *Ignominy and infamy inherent in and incidental to certain professions.*—Then ignominy and infamy attach to certain professions, and those who follow them are looked down upon and despised. They cannot intermarry or dine with higher liege lords. The mere mention of the words like Chamar, Mochi, Sunar, Lohar, Joolaha, Kunjra, Saqqa, Bhangi, Ghasiyara, carry with them the idea that the person spoken of belongs to a lower order of beings. This is the reason why men of talent and ambition do not adopt these professions, which are therefore bound to suffer

Social tryannies exist in other than Indian societies also ; but in India they

relate to those very personal matters on which there should be no subjection of one individual to the other. These are the evils which do not exist anywhere outside India. This shows that they are remediable and should, therefore, be remedied. Here is work for Indian Patriots. An individual or class of individuals cannot pay his or its undivided attention to two very important subjects at the same time. By absorbing themselves entirely in Politics they have lost sight of their more important duties which demand their attention nearer home. Political salvation cannot come before social reformation. You cannot make good politicians or statesmen out of a generation of weaklings.

II—PHYSICAL UNFITNESS OF INDIAN YOUTHS

From social tyrannies we pass on to other evils which call for a remedy and must be attended to by the lovers of India. The first to attract our attention

is the physical unfitness of the Indian youths. The chief causes of their physical ruin are the conditions which prevail (1) at home, and (2) at school. The former have been noticed in the preceding pages and the latter will form the subject of the succeeding ones. The former arises from child marriages, ignorance of the laws of health, illiteracy and poverty. An Arabic proverb has it—

La tanzur ıla man qala van zur ıla ma qala :

“ Do not look at him who says, look at what he says.” Sometimes, nay, very often, the criticism of an enemy is of the greatest advantage, inasmuch as by drawing attention to the defects which had remained unnoticed, it becomes a means to their removal. A critic of Indian society has said, “ Given men who enter the world physical bankrupts out of bankrupt stock, rear them through childhood in influences and practices that devour their vitality, launch them at the dawn of

maturity, on an unrestrained outpouring of their whole provision of creative energy in one single direction ; find them, at the age when the Anglo-Saxon is just coming into full glory of manhood, broken-nerved, low spirited, petulant ancients, and need you, while this remains unchanged, seek for other reasons why they are poor and sick and dying and why their hands are too weak, too fluttering, to seize or hold the reins of Government."

Defective System of University Education.—The system of university education is defective at the very start. So many courses and books are prescribed for the young student and so defective is the system of examining him, that if he has to pass the examination he sees no alternative but to cram his books and their 'keys', and devote his entire attention to them, ignoring healthy pastimes and sports. Annual educational reports make particular mention of healthy sports that are provid-

ed for the boys of the various "elevens" and teams, and the writer, if he happens to be the Headmaster or the Principal of an aided institution, grows eloquent over the subject, takes a pride in his achievements and expects a legitimate reward for them. The report is read by the powers that be and is published for the information of the public and the parents. It must be admitted that the modern age has given much importance to the paper. These documents satisfy everybody concerned, and the machinery is deemed to have worked well. But I would like to know one fact on which the reports are significantly silent. Of how many years' "failures" are these college elevens composed? They fail to notice that those who excel in games lag behind in studies, and through no fault of theirs. The books prescribed for the examination are so numerous that the poor student cannot take care of his games and his books at the same time. As if something remained to

complete the absurdity, the deficiency is made up by the almost yearly change of books. A failure is generally meant to enable the student who has failed to prepare his books for the next year. But if the books are changed, his failure brings no good to him. He will have new books to read. The flood of "keys" and "translations" and other aids to cramming complete the tragedy of a young life. Besides being of a scanty help to real education, this system has been ruining the health of the youths of India. Our only wonder is that such obvious defects have so far escaped detection. In their anxiety to fight diplomatic battles with "foreigners", the so-called patriots fail to set their own house in order. The glamour of a distant goal does not allow them to see the nearer pit-falls. The mental or physical ruin is the result. And one stares aghast when one finds that the Government has no hand in prescribing the courses, which are regu-

are the Indian patriots who have the courage to reform this system and thus save thousands of students from becoming physical wrecks? The best time of a student's life, when his faculties are budding forth to bear fruit is spent in cramming books and burning midnight oil for no other purpose than to pass an examination. It is a very easy matter for them; but it is of far-reaching consequences to the coming generation of Indian youths.

III.—MORAL RUIN

(a) *School atmosphere.*—From physical ruin we pass on to moral ruin. I need not refer to the many vices which pollute the school atmosphere. They are much too nauseating to be touched upon here.

(b) *Cinemas, their evils.*—I must mention one evil which is becoming very common, because it is allowed in "fashionable" society. I mean the Cinema. It is high time that legislation should come forward to save the youths of India by

placing age-limitation on those who go to Cinema "shows". Its evils are so many and so far-reaching in their effects and its good so doubtful and at best limited that the only wonder is that it should have been allowed to exist in fashionable society, much less to have found currency there. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the same mental psychology which induces a careworn fellow to "drown his sorrows" in wine. Let me enumerate the evils of the Cinema one by one.

(1) In the first place, it is an unreality. By allowing the unreal to affect our emotions and create feelings of sorrow or joy in us, we unconsciously begin to forget the demarcating line between the real and the unreal. We train our feelings to become so delicate as to be touched by the unreal; and thus we gradually and unconsciously make ourselves unfit to combat the realities of life. And after all, the mental condition of that man is very poor and

unhealthy, who can derive pleasure and enjoyment from unrealities. Unrealities are unrealities and a sturdy soul refuses to be affected by them, even in leisure moments. The games and sports of a nation are a true index of its manly strength. What a fall from the gladiatorial shows of the Romans to the cinema shows of the moderns. In corresponding proportion they show decadence in physical strength and manly courage. I should not be taken to approve of the gladiatorial shows in their entirety; some revolting barbarities were no doubt committed. But eliminate those barbarities and the manly sports that are left therefrom are sufficient to show the contrast existing to-day.

(2) The time fixed for these shows is either just before or just after the dinner. To sit in one place and have full attention wrapt on the screen affects the digestion and thereby gives rise to many ailments,

the stomach being the root of all diseases. The stomach requires blood to help towards digesting the food ; but blood rushes copiously to the brain when a man's attention is absorbed on the screen ; and thus a very scanty supply is left for the stomach. The doctors say that before taking a meal, a man must prepare himself for it; and the preparation consists in allowing full scope to the working of all the organs, such as the heart, lungs, stomach, etc. But these organs find little scope for the full play of their functions in a congested room full of carbon dioxide, and the man having his attention rapt on the screen. And then the rapidly moving pictures cause a strain on the eye, and have a very injurious effect on the eye-sight.

(3) Every show displays scenes of sexual amours and embraces. These no doubt excite sexual cravings in the persons assembled there. After the show is over,

ways and means of the satisfaction of those cravings. Either they are satisfied or they are not satisfied. In either case the result is undesirable. If they are satisfied, looking to the social conditions of India, where girls and boys are kept apart, it means that the student has had resort to brothel houses. If they are not satisfied, the result is equally disastrous. Any strong craving that does not find an outlet in satisfaction leaves a weakening effect on the nerves. The nervous system is totally shattered by this daily process. And is not the habit of self-pollution so rampant among students in these days traceable to the evils of cinema shows ?

(4) The students' expenses at college are an appreciable drain on the pockets of their poor parents ; this additional burden is certainly the last straw that must break the camel's back.

(5) The only good that these cinemas are said to produce is their educative

influence. The sight of foreign peoples and places and scenes of hitherto unseen action do no doubt increase the store of knowledge. But the knowledge which is acquired from unrealities is bound to be insubstantial and inaccurate. This meagre gain certainly does not justify the infliction of so many and formidable evils and is far less in proportion to them. Either the Indian youths gain that knowledge by coming in contact with the realities in after life or they have no chance to meet them. In either case the cinema shows do not serve them. If they have to face them, the fact that one or two years ago they saw that thing in a picture, *e.g.*, how a ship is boarded, leaves no perceptible effect to help them when actually a ship is to be boarded. If they have no chance to meet them, their having seen that thing in picture years ago is quite useless.

women.—Another canker which is eating away the strength of Indian society is the unwomanly tendencies shown by Indian women. They are imitating the ways of their sisters in Europe, but unfortunately they have conveniently left out from their programme of imitation the good qualities which their European sisters have. In Europe, both the wife and the husband have earning capacities, the wife has as much share in earning the livelihood for their children as the husband has. In that case, the wife is fully justified in spending a part of the money earned by her on her luxuries. The former social code of ancient India assigned a different sphere to the woman. She was the sole manager of the household, she would milk the cows and prepare the food for her husband and children. The nursing and the bringing up of the children was entirely left to her. But the present Indian wife disdains these avocations as below her dignity. The only work that she has set to herself is to wear

costly dress, perfume it with lavender and go out in the evening for a stroll on the Mall. She returns home, has a sharp quarrel with her husband or servants, takes such meal as has been cooked by the servant and goes to sleep. She is thus a mere drone. From the useful partner in life which she used to be, she is reduced to the position of a pretty but very expensive toy. From that embodiment of useful love and doting devotion for her husband, she is come to be a peevish and petulant partner, hard to put up with and still harder to put away. Here is food for reflection. If this evil is not attended to immediately, it is sure to result in the total disintegration of Indian society, to India's complete ruin and destruction.

Indian youths unable to face battle of life.—These weaklings are thrown into the world to fight their battle of life. The struggle for existence was never easy; but it is the keenest and most acute in these

days. No wonder that they find themselves quite unequipped to carry on the struggle. Their general knowledge of the world is scanty, and the qualities of perseverance and self-reliance which alone enable one to fight out the battle of life successfully, and which are possible only in a physically healthy youth, are wanting. It is only the strong will that makes its way in the world ; but a strong will cannot come of an unfeebled brain. Complete failure is the result. The sense of having failed in life produces chagrin, discontent and dissatisfaction and makes them jealous of those who have succeeded. Thousands of graduates are turned out every year by the Indian Universities; and when they go out into the world they find no employment. Forgetting that all this state of things is principally due to themselves and their scanty equipment, they throw the blame on Government, which they regard as being responsible for all their ills and ailments. These are the ingredients of which the

present political unrest of India is made and these are the causes which have brought the flocks of Indian youths under the flag of the Congress.

The indigenous resources of India are sufficient to give employment to Indian youths.—As I have said above, so far as the natural resources are concerned, of all the countries, India should be the last to suffer from unemployment, as she offers so many fields of work to her children, and supplies so many channels for the outlet of their energy, that they should never find themselves unemployed. To derive full benefit from all the resources that India offers, agricultural as well as industrial, is the noblest task to which the Indian patriots can set themselves, and of the performance of which any patriot can be justly proud. With innumerable resources at her command, India may become one of the most prosperous countries of the world, if only her sons devote themselves to their legi-

timate and proper duties. India is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of her population resides in villages. But the ignorance of the elementary principles of sanitation makes villages uninhabitable. The art of scientific cultivation is quite unknown among the agriculturists. Here is the opportunity for patriots and millionaires. They can do a lot to ameliorate the condition of the villagers. They have left this humanitarian work for the dangerous and harmful vocation of politics. Bomb-throwing, the killing of innocent men and kindred crimes can never bring any good to India, and are sure to prove its ruin in the end.

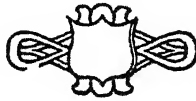
PATRIOTS' SCHEDULE OF WORK

Village uplift work, the development of indigenous industries, the spread of compulsory elementary education, the care of the health and morality of Indian youths, the promotion of amity and mutual regard among the various communi-

ties of India and their unification into one nation, the removal of social tyrannies, such as forced widowhood, child marriages, socially compulsory expenses on marriages, joint family evils, the scorn and contumely attached to various professions merely as professions, are some of the items that go to make up the Indian patriots' schedule of work which would surely occupy their undivided attention for many years to come. The so-called political emancipation will only be one evil more added, if it comes in the present state of discord and disruption. Recently the Mohammadan members of the Legislative Council gave notice of criticising the White Paper in the Council. The *Daily Herald*, a Hindu organ, advised its community to hold aloof, saying that in the Governor's prerogative and power of veto lay the Hindus' safeguard against the tyranny of the Muslim majority. This advice speaks volumes for itself and supplies food for patriots' reflection. Either the fears are well founded or they are merely the

outcome of jealousy and mutual hatred.

- Woe to India in either case ! Is she able to govern herself ? Or is not foreign rule a blessing to her ?



CHAPTER VIII**LIBERTY AND BOLSHEVISM.**

LOVE of liberty is an instinct in man ; in fact, a desire to be free and at large is an instinct that has been implanted by Providence in all living creatures, from worms and insects to man. Its intensity is in proportion to the savagery and natural state in which that creature lives. In his savage state, man was certainly much freer than he is to-day. The limitations that civilised society places upon his thought and action are so many checks to the liberty of man. When he began his life on this earth, his only pursuit, like that of other animals, was a search for food. This wide earth was much too vast for him, and, therefore, he had not much difficulty in getting what he wanted. He was free as air. But, fortunately or unfortunately, this "airy freedom" if I may use the expression, was not destined to last long. The great foe of that freedom was within him ; it was his

reason, that all-shadowing genius that presided over his destiny. By creating a host of wants and at the same time showing him the way to satisfy them, it applied the axe at the very root of this freedom. The necessity of living among fellow beings with an equal amount of reason and intelligence and having the same wants with the same craving to satisfy them, provided additional brakes to the free movements in the field of action. The sphere of this air-like freedom became narrower and narrower with the advance of civilisation. Real freedom was destroyed. The ocean of liberty has shrunk to the contemptible limits of a small inland lake only. His love of liberty was much too intensive to allow him to reconcile himself to the loss or even to admit it. Henceforth, his constant aim has been to deceive himself into the belief that he is free. His birthright to natural freedom is gone ; but he still fondly believes that he has a natural birthright to freedom. I have said elsewhere in this book that

every instinct that has been created in man by God has been for his good and for the good of the world, and that any result which is produced by the right exercise of his faculties is beneficial. Here the question arises, is this shrinking of the ocean of liberty, this narrowing down of his freedom, brought about by the exercise of his reasoning faculty, compatible with this theory ? I say it is, and I proceed to explain why. The first thing to consider is : why was this instinct to love freedom given to man, beast and bird, in fact to every living creature ? What was its utility ? The answer is not far to seek. This instinct is an offshoot of the instinct of self-preservation. The beasts and the birds try to avoid being caught, lest they may be killed or may not be given food. They are not afraid of man because they think that liberty is their birth-right ; they are afraid of him because they want to live ; the instinct within whispers to them to fly for life. But man, having been given the greatest bulwark for

safety, his reason, could safely dispense with other safeguards. Therefore, the love of liberty in its initial natural intensity was no longer required and could be dispensed with in the early stages of his advance in civilisation. Thus the instinct to love and achieve freedom is of utility as an aid to the preservation of God's creatures and has been endowed in man, beast and bird with that object. The extent and the intensity of this desire for liberty must, therefore, be commensurate with its usefulness in self-preservation.

A divided life.—One of the attributes of modern civilisation is to divide man's life into two kinds, private life and public life ; and it is urged that the one must be kept separate from the other. I must confess that to me many of the dogmas of modern civilisation are unsolved and unsolvable enigmas, and this is one of them. I fail to understand how a man can be dishonest in private life but honest in public

life, faithless in private or domestic matters but scrupulous to perform his promises in public affairs. Given a man very unfortunate in domestic affairs, having a turbulent wife to try his temper, death having taken away his children, with scanty sources of livelihood, always gloomy and morose at home, can you imagine that he will make a cheerful, amiable and successful public man ? We know that Napoleon was an intellectual giant, his biographer tells us that the reverses and frowns of fortune could not disturb the serenity of his temper ; but at the same time he informs us that his face always wore a gloomy expression. At any rate, we are certain that the Napoleon on the throne of France was quite a different man from the Napoleon in the prison of St. Helena. This cutting asunder of one whole life into two could be possible only in this age of fresh discoveries and startling inventions. Keeping this division in view, they say that liberty is of two kinds, liberty in private

life and liberty in public life. *It is obvious that liberty in private life is at a much lower level than liberty in public life, though, so far as individual happiness is concerned, what concerns a man most is his liberty in private life. But in private life his freedom is hedged round by innumerable limitations. Conventions of society and customs and habits of life provide so many checks to his free action. Some of these rules and customs are no doubt very useful, but most of them are merely conventional, if not actually injurious.

But curiously enough, man seems to have been contented with the loss of his freedom; he has chiefly confined his attention to liberty in public life, or political liberty only. The reason is that the social restraints and conventional limitations have been regarded as indications of high birth and polished manners, and bear the semblance of being self-imposed, whereas checks on public life

or politics are more galling as they seem to come from others. According to Sidgwick, political liberty implies: (1) absence of physical coercion or confinement, and (2) absence of moral restraint placed on inclination by the fear of painful consequences resulting from the action of other human beings.* It is thus possible that there may be absence of political liberty under indigenous rule or *Swaraj*, as opposed to foreign rule. As a matter of fact, history abounds in instances of native rule being much more tyrannical than ever foreign rule could be at any time. The struggle for liberty made by a people against their own ruler has been a prominent feature in the history of every country in Europe.

But, somehow or other, political independence has come to be a *sine qua non* of political liberty. The idea is attractive, but not logical, keeping in view the accept-

* Sidgwick : Elements, P. 41.

ed definition of political liberty. The reason why it has found currency in spite of its illogicality is that all subsequent political institutions that aimed at attaining liberty derived their inspiration from Athenian thought, and were modelled, as far as possible, on the pattern set by Athens. It is a fact that what we call the Western spirit in our own day is really Hellenism re-incarnate ; and the modern world owes much to Athens in architecture, sculpture, drama, philosophy and political science. In short, the life-spring of the present political order is the Athenian system of government. The life of Athens represented the struggle of Hellas against Eastern despotism ; and, therefore, in her conception of political liberty an absence of foreign domination was to be the chief element.

The fact remains that according to all canons of liberty and its definition as laid down by philosophers, it is possible that

each individual may enjoy full political liberty under foreign rule and that there may be a complete negation of liberty to an individual under the nation's own rule. The realisation of this fact led people to devise means to attain full political rule. One of the means discovered was the rule of the majority, politely named Democracy. The idea seems to have been taken from Athens, as the drift of her political state was towards that direction. But we know how little that word "democracy" was held in honour at the end of the Athenian greatness. The fact is that though Athenian liberty was not democracy, yet it was not far from it. As the motive spring of all the present day political upheavals is the Athenian State, a critical study of that order will be of much use. The best criticism of Athenian democracy is found in Plato's "Republic". The implicit faith in democracy and its idolisation that is in vogue at the present day need not blind us to its evils. The liberty of all

leads directly to the cult of incompetence. "Let observation survey" the population of a town even in one of the most highly cultured countries of to-day: you will find that the greater number are usually incompetent to understand complex issues of state and are generally less cultured. But an advocate of individual liberty in politics tends to deny the distinction of quality among individuals and supposes that those qualities are more valuable which are appreciated by the greatest number of men, which is obviously a mistake. It has been said that where all are equally free to give their opinion force in directing the policy of their State, no one is willing to admit that one man's opinion is more valuable than another's. Thus, "the level of opinion acted upon is generally low". Delisle Burns criticises Athenian liberty thus, "But there has never been a golden age. History is not a mere rhapsody on the good old times, and men have never in any age achieved all that was implied even in the ideal they accepted

and the ends for which they worked. Always there has been much evil together with the good.

“The Athenian liberty, which reached its fullest development in the fifth century before our era, was preserved in its finest flower for only about fifty years. Athens at her best was full of slaves. There was no political freedom for women.

“The distress of disease and poverty was not less evident than it is among us. The continual danger of war and the deficiency of intellect or honesty among politicians made Athens no splendid city of dreams, but a sober enough reality, not very unlike that of which we are now aware. The attainment of group independence did not make foreign politics any more noble or idealistic in Athens ; and the independence of individuals within the city was often a mere excuse for unbridled egoism and savage jealousy. Athenian civilisation at its best was very close to barbarism.

“ Liberty itself was obstructed. The right of all to mind the public business was made a cover for the interference of each man with his neighbour. We hear of innumerable sycophants and public informers; and Socrates himself suffered death, not from a hostile Oligarchy, but from a Democracy which was suspicious of any man who seemed exceptional.”

It is thus obvious that Democracy is not the ideal form of Government that it is believed to be. It has its own vices, and those vices are much more serious than the evils of the monarchy, because in the latter case, the tyrannical inclinations or idiosyncracies pass away with one individual, but in the former case the vices are much more deeply rooted; they permeate the very system of government that has been evolved by the Oligarchy, and there is no likelihood of that Oligarchy ceasing to exist, unless of course it is done away with by means of a revolution.

The following principles are deducible from the above discussion :—

1. The chances or occasions for the loss of individual liberty under a native rule or Swaraj, whether it is in the form of a monarchy, or of a democracy, are as many as, if not more than, they are under foreign rule. We are concerned only with individual liberty ; that nation as a whole cannot be called happy or free of which the individuals are slaves or lead miserable lives.

2. There is every possibility of the individuals being free and leading happy lives under foreign rule. The State is the means whereby to achieve the happiness and prosperity of the individuals, which is its end. There are as many chances of this end being attained under foreign rule as there are under native rule.

3. The rule of the people by the people and for the people, which is said to be the feature of Democracy, is not an unmixed

good. In fact, its evils are very serious and of far reaching-effect.

The Russian was one of the most tyrannical monarchies that have ever defaced this earth. It was bound to vanish ; it vanished. But as ill luck would have it, the measure of individual freedom remained at its former level. Extremes beget extremes. In trying to overthrow extreme tyranny, men went to the extreme of liberty, which is also tyranny. As Niehbur has said, our age knows nothing but reactions, and leaps from one extreme to another. The system of society and government which the Bolsheviks are trying to evolve out of the chaos is also a violent extreme, and no violent extreme endures, as Carlyle has said. The reverse of tyranny is not freedom, as the reverse of error is not truth. Mr. Asquith (afterwards Lord Oxford) once very effectively put the loss of personal liberty as an inevitable sequence of Socialism when he said, " If you ask me at

what point Liberalism and what is called Socialism in the true and strict sense of the term part company, I answer, "when liberty in its positive, and not merely its negative sense is threatened. Liberty means more than the mere absence of coercion or restraint ; it means the power of initiative, the free play of intelligences and wills, the right, so long as a man does not become a danger or a nuisance to the community, to use as he thinks best the faculties of his nature, the earnings of his hand or brain, the opportunities of his life. The great loss counterbalancing all the apparent gains of a reconstruction of society upon what are called Socialistic lines will be, that liberty will be slowly but surely starved to death, and that with a superficial equality of fortunes and conditions, even if that could be attained, we should have the most sterilizing despotism that the world has ever seen."

It appears that the experiment of

social reconstruction which is being tried in Russia is influencing the minds of Indian youths. That India of all countries should be influenced by a system which is subversive of all that Indian civilisation has stood for, is the eighth wonder of the world. In the first place, Bolshevism is still an untried experiment. Though we cannot lay it down as an axiom that what has not existed in the past is not likely to take root and thrive in the future, yet human reason revolts at accepting a system of society which is the negation of all that man has cherished and revered so far, of all that human civilisation has stood for. All the immense sacrifices that man has made from the beginning of his life upon this earth have been in vain if Bolshevism is to exist. Justification of Bolshevism is the falsification of man's own self.

Broadly speaking and giving every credit to the honesty of purpose of those who advocate it, Socialism has started a

war against God and Poverty and claims to banish both from its realm. In my opinion the one attempt is useless and the other impossible, and the result is bound to be total disruption of society without achieving any end. The controversy relating to the existence of God is an old one, and I need not repeat the arguments that have from time to time been advanced for and against it. I am to invite your attention to two facts only. In the first place, imagine what the condition of the world would have been to-day if Religion had never made its appearance in the world, if a belief in the existence of God and a fear of punishment after death would not have moulded the thought and guided the action of man. Think of man in the early stages of his existence on this earth, without the wholesome and constraining effect of religion to curb and control his passions and actions. Think of Arabia without Islam, of Europe without Christianity, of India without Buddhism. Imagination staggers to

picture the state of the world to-day without the three great religions having ruled it in the past. The other fact is that there never was a time in the history of man when he did not have a religion. It is an instinct in man, not the effect of the educative influence of circumstances. It is the craving and necessity of his being. This craving is the Truth of Man's being, as Man is the one great Truth of Creation. You cannot deny the truth of the one without denying the truth of the other. The argument of the atheistic Russian that, taking for granted its uses in the past, Religion is at best only a necessary evil, and that as its necessity is gone, it also should go, does not end the controversy. You have yet to show that it was an evil and that it has ceased to be necessary. The fact that it has caused bloodshed in the past is no argument to show that it is an evil. Every struggle is bound to cause some inconvenience or even misery, but that does not prove that the struggle ought

not to have been risked. So long as the forces of darkness exist in the world, and man has been so constituted that they will continue to exist, there is bound always to be a struggle between them and the agencies of light; and if this struggle results in bloodshed and produces misery, that state of things can be said to have been caused as much by the one as by the other. And if some avoidable bloodshed or misery due to the internecine strife between the sects of the same creed takes place, the fact is regrettable, but it does not prove that Religion is a vice to be shunned ; it simply illustrates what has been said before, that all virtues are liable to be abused. When all is said and done, the fact remains that Atheism cannot flourish on Asiatic soil, and that India is not ready to accept it. The following information published by the *Eastern Times* of 2nd May 1933 clearly indicates the intolerance of these self-styled pioneers of Liberty, and shows the kind of "liberty" one can

expect under Bolshevik form of government.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM VIOLATED IN RUSSIA

Tales of misery told by returned pilgrims. Muslims prefer Death to Restrictions on Religious Observances. Appeal to Indian Muslims for help. Need for immediate action.

“ Nobody on earth, with an iota of human mercy in him, can afford to hear with calm and quietude of the heart-rending tales of misery and religious persecution that is going on in Soviet Russia, day in and day out. Pilgrims who pour down from the ships that arrive at Karachi back from the Hedjaz, bear testimony to the woes and tribulations that the religious-minded Muslims in Asiatic Russia are put to suffer. The godless and hellish reign of terror is adding insult to injury, in that they have turned their attention towards the peaceful inhabitants of places inhabited by the Muslims in Russia, and are forcing them to leave their homes and hearths to the tender

mercies of the wild beasts and inclement weather.

“ *Better Die than Live.*—Many of the returned pilgrims were questioned about the veracity of the statements as appearing in Indian papers ; and I cannot recount them for the benefit of our readers lest they should provoke them into unlawful and unconstitutional methods of retaliation. Our Indian friends met many of the returning Muhajrins in the trains and in other places of sojourn and they bring us first-hand knowledge. It is said that they preferred to die of starvation and privation than to live under such humiliating conditions.

“ *Now or never.*—Sacred buildings are defiled and are put to use for ignoble purposes. They appeal to the Indian Muslims to take up their cause and fight for their real religious freedom, for the Dar-ul-Islam. Indian Muslims are powerful and wealthy enough to do much for them ; only the will

in them is wanting. Now or never is the question. It is high time that we should put up our fight now. If we fail now, we shall have been doomed for ever. For Muslims, religion is the highest in life ; and it is real bravery to sacrifice our lives at the altar of the highest, *i.e.*, Islam.”

This is the edifice of Liberty which is claimed to have been erected with the material supplied by the highest effort of the best thought of Europe, past and present. If all this is true (and there is no reason to disbelieve the statements of the persons who have actually left their hearths and homes, the unequivocalness of their action bearing unimpeachable testimony to the veracity of their words), the juggling of words and the niceties of logic employed by the advocates of Bolshevism in defence of their newly invented system as the only market where Liberty can be had for nothing, are blown away like chaff before the blast of these hard facts.

The other trophy in their escutcheon on its sinister side is the equalisation of wealth. They say that the broad fact of a rich class and a poor class continuing to exist has been recognised by all political parties, though it is obviously and fundamentally unjust. They ask, Why should the resources of the nation, daily produced by the activities of the nation, be distributed in such a way as to produce this state of things ? They maintain that the wealth of the country is a constantly produced, constantly distributed, constantly consumed stream of commodities, and that it should have proper channels for its constant and regular flow into the life of the nation. All this is very well ; every one has imagination strong and romantic enough to think that men can be turned into angels, if this should be and this should not be. But the question of questions is : Is it possible to create and eliminate what should be and what should not be ? Is such an equal distribution of wealth possible

and practicable without detriment to other equally important and useful faculties of man, without causing miseries and unhappiness of equal or greater magnitude? It is of no use attempting to remove one cause of unhappiness if you create a hundred other causes of unhappiness in the attempt.

One source of unhappiness and misery that Socialism has given rise to at the start is the discontentment of the labouring class with their lot. Whether in the ages to come you succeed or whether your efforts are liable to fail, even within the life time of one generation you have at least succeeded in making miserable the lives of millions of men who had hitherto been living in peace and contentment, and have unhinged the pivot on which the world had been going on smoothly before. It is true that every sacrifice by the present generation of men is worth attempting if it results in the emancipation and betterment of the generations to come. But even a cursory

glance at the Bolshevist programme will convince one that it is not likely to succeed, and that it is bound to break down if applied to human society as a whole. That programme contains the following items :—

1. Admittedly Socialism is an attack upon the institution of private ownership of land and capital. Confiscation of property and capital from the possession of those who already have both is therefore the first item.

2. Socialism is a denial of any right of private property. To peremptorily require people to hand over to the State the earnings of their labour is its second item. “The object of Socialism” says Mr. Balfour Brown in his ‘Economics of Socialism’ “is to do away with all private property”. Everything belongs to the State and nothing to the individual is the first axiom of this Code of Liberty and Democracy. But the instinct for personal property and individual ownership is fundamental in human nature.

3. To destroy individual liberty for the sake of the State is the underlying current of Bolshevism.

4. A belief in God has been the cause of many ills to which the human race has been subject in the past, and must therefore cease to exist.

These are the main principles and aims of Bolshevism. Their consideration shows that they violate human instincts ; they require the birth of new and quite different instincts if Bolshevism is to live. You cannot alter human nature by altering the material conditions under which men live. If you succeed in altering human nature, the material conditions will naturally adjust themselves to that change. But the whole edifice is bound to crumble down if you alter material conditions without first altering human nature.

The case for Socialism is put in these words : " Socialism means the organisation of the national industry under co-operative

control as a public service for the national benefit, instead of under private control for private profit ; the transfer of land and capital from private direction to the direction of the whole people, acting as a co-operative nation for the production, distribution and exchange of wealth."

Very nice phrases indeed : co-operative control, national benefit, direction of the whole people, a co-operative nation. These phrases have been coined to tickle the vulgar palate. They are meant to express the same thing, that is the State. Read that quotation in this way : " Socialism means the organisation of the national industry under the control of the State and for its benefit, instead of under private control for private profit ; the transfer of land and capital from private direction to the direction of the State, acting for the production, distribution and exchange of wealth. " The first thing to see is whether you can organize a State able and honest

enough to undertake this gigantic control in its hands. All the activities of the nation are centred in the State, which is to be the fountain-head and source of all that is going on in a vast country ; so much so that the burden of bringing up and training the children is also thrown upon it. The various branches of action and departments of activities that must necessarily be established in every town, nay in every village, are to be directed and controlled by the State. The work is beyond the capacity of any State, however efficiently and completely it may be manned by persons of unimpeachable honesty and indefatigable energy and industry. On this account alone the scheme is bound to fail in the long run. And, taking human nature as it is, there is absolutely no justification for supposing that the persons who run the State will always discharge their duties honestly and conscientiously. In any discussion of the scheme from the point of view of practicability, an account

must be taken of human nature as it is. The failure is bound to be much speedier and productive of much more evil, and the crash and collapse more destructive and subversive of all order, if the element of dishonesty enters anywhere in the working of this gigantic and complex scheme. It has not been long on the anvil, and has not yet been recognised universally even in the home of its origin as the one established system of society. It is still in the hands of its first originators, who are working it with the zeal and energy of advocates who feel themselves responsible for proving its success. When time and experience throw cold water over this zeal, and the originators are succeeded by those to whom the scheme will appear only as a midsummer dream of visionaries, then will come the time of its real test. The result may well be predicted.

The theory of the individual existing only for the State has been carried to its

extreme logical end in Bolshevist Russia, There each individual is working machine-like for the State, not only working but he is begetting children also for the State. The most sacred and secret relations of man and woman that had, so far, even under most tyrannical governments, been reserved exclusively for the individual, have not escaped the interference of the State. The sacred tie of love must be broken asunder for the sake of the State. Though marriage has not yet been banned, yet the drift of events is towards that direction. Children are torn from the arms of their parents to make the mercenary workers for the State. In order that the State alone should take possession of the entire being of an individual and be the be-all and end-all of his existence, other objects of adoration and love, for which man had, so far, from all antiquity, lived and toiled for, have been detached from his view. He must not, therefore, believe in God and adore Him. There should be no rival to

the State in his love and affection. From that angel-like being, full of love and affection, possessing tender emotions and exercising them for the sake of others, he is turned to a demon-like machine, caring for no one, working for no one, living for no one, loving no one, regardless of the ills and miseries of his neighbours, careless of the woes of his parents and brothers. This is the stony statue that is being formed under the Bolshevik chisel. To this shape and mould humanity has been forced to come. If this is the goal at which the so-called patriots of India are aiming, and if this is the object of their admiration and emulation, they are greatly mistaken. The teeming millions of India still cherish their Religion, and are prepared to die for it. If in nothing else, at least in their love of God and religion and family life the Hindus and the Muslims of India are at one. Besides this, domestic love and felicity is the chief

ideal of an Indian. He worships the sacred tie of marriage to an extent which cannot be imagined by Bolshevist Russia. Are not Indians the sons of those mothers who gladly and cheerfully ascended the throne of burning fire to consume themselves in the thought of their departed husband, and longed to meet him in the next world ; do they not worship that ideal of marital love and affection, the immortal Sita, who followed her husband through thick and thin of adverse fate ? The miseries will be unspeakable and sorrows unbearable if an attempt is made to revolutionise Indian society by the introduction of Bolshevist ideas, which aim at the destruction of all that is loved and cherished by the Indian mind. Religion and love are the objects of pride and adoration for an Indian. He lives by and for them, and they permeate his being through and through. Bolshevism has altogether done away with the one, and has so disfigured the other as to make it a new thing quite different from its

former self. There is no doubt that a tough fight is going on between labour and capital all over the world ; and accumulation of riches by a small section of the population causes heart-burning and gives rise to a feeling of hatred and repulsion in the rest of the people, who form by far a great majority. This gulf between the two divisions of the human race is widened, and a feeling of hatred and estrangement accentuated by unemployment and depression in trade, coupled with the rise of prices as after effects of the Great War. Every country affected by it had to combat these evils in its own way ; but Russia went to the other extreme and at once did away with the old order of society. This is a very dangerous experiment and is bound to fail in the long run, for the simple reason that it altogether disregards natural instincts and human affections ; and I am told that the Bolshevik Government does not allow its subjects to mix

with the outside world, lest they may be tempted to give up the experiment. Anyhow, let them take any precautions they can, this new order of society will soon make people tired of it; and, sooner or later, reaction is bound to set in and when it does, the whole fabric will crumble down like a house of cards. This deterioration, as I have explained above, will be from within.

As a means to end that state of unemployment, Russia thought out this scheme; the other countries did not follow it; but it is a fact that they are also feeling the ill-effects of the Great War. But India had no need to trouble herself with seeking a dangerous remedy, for the simple reason that she had not the disease in that acute form. There is some unemployment, which is found under normal circumstances. But the acute and extreme state of unemployment which is the result of the Great War and which has been compelling other

countries to venture on dangerous experiments, is wanting in India. For her to try the remedy when she has not the disease would be most foolish and absurd. Sir Thomas W. Holderness says: "Economically, India is not the worse for the war. During its continuance, money was poured into the country in payment of services and commodities, industries were stimulated and even created, and the collective resources of the people were very greatly increased. In India as in other countries, the short-lived trade boom, which followed the Armistice, gave way to pronounced depression in the importing and distributing centres, but agriculture, the national industry, has been little affected. It had first to replenish the exhausted food reserves of the country and incidentally to bring down the cost of living. This it has done, thanks to excellent harvests, and the consequent fall in prices has greatly contributed to bring about the relaxation of political tension observable

to-day. There is an active and increasing foreign demand for staple raw products in which India excels, with the result that a very favourable trade balance has been attained and the rupee has returned to pre-war parity. There is no unemployment, no depreciation of the currency, no excessive issue of fiduciary paper money. All circumstances considered, the economic condition of India and the state of its finances compare favourably with those of any other country, and place it in a position to take advantage of any revival in the trade of the world".[^]

Why should India go out of its way to seek Bolshevism, Communism or any other ism, when she has no need for it? Such unemployment as is found in India is quite normal, and can be easily remedied by diverting her youths to indigenous industries and other vocations which are only

* "These Eventful Years" Vol II, Article "India's Arduous Journey", by Sir Thomas W. Holderness

too numerous, considering the vast and unexplored resources of the country. Want and penury can be relieved to an extent, if not entirely extirpated. All the great religions of Asia—Buddhism, Brahmanism, Jainism and Islam—lay stress on charity to the poor. The Great Prophet of Islam has said that charity is the key which opens the gate of Paradise. The provisions of Islamic Law, require that one fortieth part of a man's earnings and accumulations must be distributed among the poor as Zakat every year. If you follow the tenets of your own religion, you will have no need to try a dangerous experiment.

FINIS

